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*On the Sounds and Inflections of the Cyprian  
Dialect*

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### III. — *On the Sounds and Inflections of the Cyprian Dialect.*

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DR. ISAAC H. HALL in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* for October, 1877, stated the wants existing at that stage of Cyprian study as 1) a complete collection of inscriptions, 2) a correct syllabary, 3) a compilation of the best interpretations; after which, grammar and vocabulary. The first and second of these wants have been admirably met by Deecke's publication of the existing inscriptions with an appended syllabary in Collitz's *Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. Bd. I., Heft 1, 1883. The excellent foundation laid by this brilliant and thorough work has encouraged the present attempt at a systematic treatment of the grammar of the dialect.

The inscriptions made use of, in addition to those published in Collitz's *Sammlung* (212 in number), have been the following:—

1. The two inscriptions with fragments of two others published by Sayce in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1884, No. 21.

2. Three inscriptions published by Hans Voigt in the *Studia Nicolaitana*, 1884.

3. Thirty inscriptions published by Deecke in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1886, Nos. 41, 51, 52.

4. The two bilingual inscriptions of Tamassus, published by Deecke in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1886, No. 42; 1887, No. 12.

5. Meister's new reading (suggested by Deecke) of inscription 41 in Collitz's *Sammlung*, in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1887, No. 52.

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6. The two inscriptions published by Deecke in *Beszenberger's Beiträge*, xi., p. 315 f.

7. The reading of COLLITZ 134 as published by Prellwitz in *Beszenberger's Beiträge*, ix., p. 172.

The inscriptions discovered in Cyprus during the last year have not as yet been published. It is to be hoped that they may add to our knowledge of the dialect.

As regards the inscriptions published by Deecke in Collitz's *Sammlung*, I have been compelled to doubt the general correctness of one or two of the longer ones, and mention this here that more weight may attach to what is urged below against particular forms occurring in these inscriptions. The inscriptions are Nos. 68, 69, and 126.

No. 68 is the longest of the inscriptions in the Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The characters are quite clear in the main, to judge from Hall's fac-simile (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, x., Plate iv., 13). The divisors are also plain. But unmistakable as several of the words of the inscription seem to be, e.g. χαίρετε, line 1; θεοῖς, line 2; ἄ(ν)θρωπε and θεῶι, line 3; πᾶ(ν)τα and ἄ(ν)θρωποι, line 4, yet there are other words exceedingly doubtful, especially πότι, φήπω, ἐφέλσης in line 1; ἐρεραμένα and πα(ν)τακόραστος in line 2; οὐ, ἐπισταῖς, ἀλ(λ)' ἔτυχ' ἁ κήρ in line 3; and κυμερήναι and φρονέωι in line 4. These words are doubtful not only from the uncertainty of some of the characters contained in them, but more especially in view of their peculiar and irregular formation (see below for the separate cases). Furthermore the interpretation which Deecke seeks to establish for the whole inscription (see *Beszenberger's Beitr.*, vi., p. 78 ff.) is so forced and far-fetched, that I cannot believe the reading which yields such a sense to be correct. Several words as πότι and ἐπισταῖς, even if formally correct, cannot have the signification which Deecke attributes to them. Even the metrical structure of the verses (Deecke claims four hexameters) to which Deecke appeals for the confirmation of his results, is extremely harsh, involving the lengthening of the final ι of πότι, the lengthening of

the  $\epsilon$  of  $\tau\acute{\iota}$ , the shortening of the second syllable of  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,<sup>1</sup> the crasis of  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\iota$ <sup>2</sup>  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda)$ ', besides two striking instances of hiatus.

In view of all these difficulties I cannot believe that the true reading of this difficult inscription has yet been reached, and I have therefore felt it unsafe to attempt to base any grammatical conclusions upon it, at least for the present. An irregularity or two in an inscription otherwise certain (e.g.  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu$  COLL. 60, 14;  $\acute{\alpha}\zeta\alpha\theta\acute{\omega}\iota$  59, 4) may be easily admitted; but to admit the existence of irregularities in any number in an inscription which is thereby made to yield only an unsatisfactory sense, reduces the probability of the correctness of any one word to a minimum.

No. 69, though apparently accepted without reservation by Hall (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xi., p. 221), seems to me to be open to precisely the same objections as urged against No. 68, including faulty metrical structure.

No. 126 is uncertain in several of the characters, and a number of the words as read by Deecke involve principles at variance with the usage of the dialect. The sense too is not convincing.

No. 41 is now taken by Deecke (*Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317) as reading from left to right, instead of from right to left as formerly. This gives an entirely different text, which has not yet been fully made out. Meister, following Deecke, has offered in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1887, No. 52, a new reading of the inscription. But this is largely conjectural and to be accepted with caution.

Nos. 122-125 have been shown by Voigt (*Bess. Beitr.*, ix., p. 168) to be in all likelihood cleverly executed forgeries, and will accordingly be left entirely out of consideration.

<sup>1</sup> This is Deecke's explanation, but it is simpler to assume aphæresis of the initial  $\epsilon$ .

<sup>2</sup> Equally harsh would be the assumption of synizesis in  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\iota$ , with shortening before the initial vowel.

## SOUNDS.

## VOWELS.

## 1.

## ǣ.

Cyprian ǣ corresponds in general to primitive Greek ǣ and ǣ of the other dialects; e.g. ἄ(ν)τί COLL. 60, 5; βασιλεύς 17, 1; φάναξ 18, 1.

1. δάλτον COLL. 60, 26 appears in other dialects as δέλτος, being derived from the name of the letter delta (τὸ δέλτα). The Semitic name of the letter, however, is *daleth*, and it is doubtless owing to the influence of the Phœnician dialect of Cyprus, that the Cyprian Greeks employed the form δάλτος while the others said δέλτος.

2. Whether *íarós* as in Doric, Elean, Boeotian, Thessalian and Arcadian (in the latter by the side of *íepós*) really exists in Cyprian is as yet uncertain. Of Deecke's three forms *Íarῶ(ν)δαν* COLL. 118; *íarῶτατος* 41, 1; and *járá* 72, 2, the first is entirely uncertain, and the second no longer maintained by Deecke himself (see *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317). Only the last of the three, *járá*, can lay claim to serious attention. Whether *járá* can be for *íjárá* (i.e. *íará*; see § 18, 1) is extremely doubtful. The only theory on which we could account for the disappearance of the initial ι, would be that it merged in some way with the final ι of the preceding Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι. This may be correct in spite of the divisor, viz. *a · po · lo · ni · | ja · ra ·*. Cf. COLL. 26 *e · mi · | o · la · o ·* — i.e. possibly ἡμὶ Ἰολάω. Cf. Deecke, *Bess. Beitr.*, vi., p. 83.

The regular Cyprian form is *íepós* (*íjēpós*); e.g. *íjēpeús* COLL. 40; *íepḥos* 38, 3, et pass. None of the forms in *íjēp-* ever show any tendency to lose their initial vowel and to appear as *jēp-*.



As to the relation of the two forms *ἱερός* and *ἰαρός*, it seems quite probable, in view of Skrt. *iṣirá*, that the latter is the primitive one, and that *ἱερός* is of secondary origin, with *-ερος* for *-αρος* after the analogy of *φοβερός*, *δολερός*, *τρομερός*, etc. This is Osthoff's view. See *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, iv., p. 149 ff. Cf. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 94.

3. *κατάστησε* COLL. 127 cannot be a Cyprian form for *κατέστᾱσε*. The syllabic text seems to give *ka·ta·se·te·se·*. But the principles of the Cyprian syllabary would demand *ka·ta·sa·te·se·* to represent *κατάστησε*. This has led Voigt (*Bezz. Beitr.*, ix., p. 170) to conjecture a mistake of the stone-cutter, by which the *ta·* and *te·* in the second and fourth syllables were interchanged. In that case we should get *ka·te·se·ta·se·*, i.e. *κατέστᾱσε*, — the regular form, found frequently in other Cyprian inscriptions, e.g. COLL. 27, 2; 28.

4. Equally uncertain is *πα(ν)τακόραστος*, the reading proposed by Deecke in COLL. 68, 2, which he takes (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 79) for *παντακόρεστος*, i.e. an emphatic *ἰκόρεστος*, for which Deecke compares *παντάριστος*, etc. But this change of *ε* to *α* is difficult to justify either physiologically or by any etymological combinations. Moreover, the word is suspicious in its composition. *παντάριστος*, which Deecke compares, is not sufficiently analogous to give much probability to his view of the word. We ought to have instances of some verbal beginning with alpha privative, to which *παντ-* has been prefixed, such as *παντ-άβατος*, *παντ-άκριτος*, before crediting so remarkable a form as *παντ-α-κόρεστος*, even did it occur with *ε*, and not *α*, as here. Hall (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 220) after a careful re-examination of the inscription in New York reads here *πά(ν)τα χώραι δῶς*, taking Deecke's *sa·* as an *i·*, which he insists is correct. But *δῶς* surely cannot be right.

5. As to the possible origin of the peculiar ending *-αν*, in the acc. sing. of consonant stems, from *-ῃν* (cf. *ἔταμον* for *ἔτημ-ον*), see below, under *Inflections*, § 29, 1.

6. The *α* in *μεμναμένοι* COLL. 71, 2 must be taken as short, if the inscription (with Allen, *Versification in Greek Inscrip-*

tions, p. 46) is really to be regarded as metrical, which I doubt. Allen's view requires us to assume the addition of  $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$  in verse 1 and the interpolation of either  $\pi\alpha\iota$  or  $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$  in verse 2, along with the shortening of  $\alpha$  to  $\tilde{\alpha}$  in  $\mu\epsilon\mu\nu\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$ . This seems to me improbable, especially as thereby we gain only rough verses at best.

7.  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\alpha\theta\iota$ , Hall's reading of COLL. 70 (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 221), which he takes as imperative of  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$  ("do sacrifice") is not in the smallest degree probable.

## 2.

### $\tilde{\alpha}$ .

Cyprian  $\tilde{\alpha}$  appears in  $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\chi\omega\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$  COLL. 59, 4;  $\epsilon\tilde{\sigma}\tau\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu$  71;  $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\tilde{\xi}$  65, *et pass.*

1. Final  $-\tilde{\alpha}$  (*i.e.*  $-\alpha$ ) sometimes appears as  $\tilde{\alpha}$  by the disappearance of the  $\iota$ . For the examples, see below, under *Diphthongs*, § 11, 4, 2); 13, 3. Whether this change ever occurred in the interior of a word is extremely doubtful. Deecke thinks he finds an instance in  $\text{Ἀδῆ}$  COLL. 126, which he takes for  $\text{Ἀιδῆ}$  (*i.e.*  $\text{Ἀιδῆ}$ ). But the other difficulties of the passage  $\tau\acute{o}(\nu)$   $\delta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon(\nu)$   $\text{Ἀ}(\iota)\delta\eta(\iota)$   $\mu\iota\sigma\alpha\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$  (see below, § 23, 4; 26, 3) are so great that small probability attaches to the correctness of this particular form.

## 3.

### $\epsilon$ .

Instances of regular  $\epsilon$  are  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\upsilon$  COLL. 60, 29;  $\delta\epsilon\tilde{\xi}\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$  37, 2;  $\gamma\epsilon$  56;  $\delta\acute{\nu}\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$  72, 1.

1.  $\text{Ἀριστοκρέτης}$  COLL. 71;  $\Sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  (gen.) *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 68;  $\text{Τιμοκρέτεος}$  *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, II., viii.;  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  *ibid.* vii.;  $\text{Τιμοκρέ[τεος]}$  *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 52, xxi., have  $\epsilon$  where the other dialects have  $\alpha$  ( $\text{Ἀριστοκράτης}$  *etc.*). COLL. 148 has . . .  $\kappa\epsilon\cdot\acute{r}\epsilon\cdot\tau\epsilon\cdot\sigma\epsilon$ ; apparently the conclusion of a proper name in  $-\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ , the first part of which is lost.  $\text{Τιμοκρέτης}$  COLL. 121 is very uncertain. Besides forms in  $-\kappa\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  forms in  $-\kappa\acute{\rho}\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$  also occur, *e.g.*  $\Sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\rho}\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$  COLL. 17, 1;  $\Sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\rho}\alpha\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  18, 2.

These two formations represent two different forms of the suffix, κρετ- (strong) and κρατ- (weak). The original inflection,

nom. -κρέτης,

gen. -κράτεος (for \*-κρατέος, i.e. \*-κρτέσος),

has become modified by the "levelling" process (cf. Wheeler, *Analogy and the Scope of its Application in Language*, p. 21 ff.). In most Greek dialects the levelling took place in favor of the strong form -κρετ-. The Cyprian is peculiar in that it has levelled both ways, and so developed two inflections,

-κρέτης

-κράτης

-κρέτεος

-κράτεος

as shown by the above examples. (Cf. the Anglo-Saxon præterite *sang*, plural *sungun*; whence by similar levelling we get in modern English the two inflections *sang* and *sung*.) These were probably local differences. The close relationship of the Arcadian to the Cyprian is shown by the occurrence of proper names in both -κρέτης and -κράτης in that dialect also, e.g. Ἀντοκρέτης COLL. 1246, D, 17; Καλλικρέτης 1246, B, 15; Σωκρέτης 1231, C, 1; Καλλικρέτεος 1246, B, 3; Ἀριστοκράτης 1181, A, 12.

2. κε COLL. 60, 10, 23, 29. As primitive form of this particle we must assume κέν found in Homer and Lesbian. This was doubtless originally orthotone. By its side stood the weak form κα̃ (i.e. κῆ), enclitic, preserved in Bæotian, Cretan, Heracleian, Laconian, Elean, and Locrian. The form κε can only be explained (with Spitzer, *Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 8, and Osthoff, *Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen*, p. 328) as a compromise between these two forms κέν and κα, a "Contaminationsbildung." Parallel with Doric, Bæotian, and Elean κα̃, as weak form of κέν, occurs Thessalian μα̃ (i.e. μῆ) as weak form of μέν, in the sense of δέ; e.g. COLL. 326, 3; 345, 20, *et pass.* Cf. Prellwitz, *De dialecto Thessalica*, p. 48; Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 24, 1). So also the Homeric and Attic μά as a particle of asseveration, e.g. ναὶ μά τῷδε σκήπτρον A 234; ναὶ μά Δία Ar. *Achar.* 88. Even in the

strong form μέν, we see in Homer, and occasionally in Attic, unmistakable evidence of the same affirmatory force, which was original to this particle.

That in these latter instances a "*Contaminationsbildung*" μέ has not been developed, must be ascribed to the early differentiation in the meanings of μέν and μά, and the consequent feeling that they were separate words, while κέν and κα, as long as they existed side by side, remained identical in signification.

3. Σελαμινί[ων], on coins, COLL. 176, 177, and Σελαμίνιος, Sayce in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1884, No. 21, have ε, while Σαλαμίνιος, COLL. 148, represents the vulgar formation. The ε is probably attributable to Semitic influence. Deecke (on 176) compares Σελαμίν, a town in Galilee. The reading of COLL. 121, where Deecke suggests Σαλαμίνιος, is quite uncertain.

4. ὠρίσετν (aor., = ὠρίσατο) COLL. 126, 1 has not developed its ε from α by any phonetic process, but is simply an illustration of the tendency, occasionally exhibited by the sigmatic aorist, to assume the thematic formation. (Cf. the same phenomenon in Homer, e.g. ἐπιβήσετο ζ 78; δύσετο Γ 328). Perhaps the Cyprian form is due directly to Homeric influence, as is undoubtedly the case with a number of words in this dialect. See § 20, 1.

5. ὁσέ'α COLL. 41, formerly taken by Deecke (*Bess. Beitr.*, vi., p. 71 f.) for ὁσεία, another form of ὅσιος, is now read by him quite differently. See *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317.

6. For Deecke's ε in the inflection of nouns in -εύς, η is rather to be written, e.g. βασιλῆφος not βασιλέφος. See below, under *Inflections*, § 28.

7. The Cyprian name of the town of Citium was Κέτιον, as seen in Κετίων (gen. sing.) COLL. 59, 1; Κετιῆφες 60, 1. So also the abbreviated Κετι. 57 and Κε. 195 on a coin.

#### 4.

##### η.

Cyprian η corresponds regularly to primitive Greek η and to η of the other dialects (except to that Attic and Ionic η

which has arisen from primitive Greek  $\alpha$ ), *e.g.*  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\eta\tau\omicron\iota$  COLL. 71;  $\iota\acute{\gamma}\alpha\tau\eta\eta\rho\alpha\nu$  60, 3;  $\Sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$  17, 1.

1.  $\Lambda\delta\eta$  is read by Deecke in COLL. 126. He takes it for  $\Lambda(\iota)\delta\eta(\iota)$  (see § 2, 1; 13, 3, b). But this involves questionable principles in the case of the word itself, and the context is uncertain, so that Deecke's reading can only be regarded as conjectural. If correct, the word might be referred to Homeric influence. See § 20, 1.

2.  $\text{Μοισίδημος}$  COLL. 127 is very uncertain and can be correct only on the assumption that it is an Ionic name. On  $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\epsilon$  in the same inscription, see above, § 1, 3.

3.  $\epsilon\acute{\phi}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\varsigma$  COLL. 68, 2, taken by Deecke (*Bess. Beitr.*, vi., p. 79) as gen. sing. of  $*\epsilon\acute{\phi}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , *i.e.*  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  (*cf.* Hom.  $\nu\eta\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$  for  $*\epsilon\acute{\phi}\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota$ ) cannot be correct in its  $\eta$ . The inscription, moreover, has elsewhere  $\alpha$ , according to Deecke's own reading, *e.g.*  $\theta\nu\alpha\tau\acute{o}\delta\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}$ . On other objections to the word, see below, under *Diphthongs*, § 12, 2.

4.  $\iota\theta\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$  COLL. 41, 3, formerly taken by Deecke (*Bess. Beitr.*, vi., p. 71, 5) as for  $\iota\theta\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$  ('straight victory'), disappears with the changed reading of that inscription (see *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317).

5. The Ionic  $\eta$  in Hall's  $\text{Εὐδᾶμωδότης}$  (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 229 = COLL. 101) cannot be correct, especially with the non-Ionic  $\alpha$  in the second syllable.  $\text{Τιμοδωρήτης}$  *ibid.* p. 231 (COLL. 121) is doubtful and improbable.

6.  $\Theta\epsilon\eta\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$  COLL. 128 is apparently correct and, if so, to be explained as an Ionic name.

7.  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$  (for  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$ ; see § 13, 3, b) COLL. 126, 2, is to be referred to  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , not  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , and hence its  $\eta$  presents no irregularity. The tendency of verbs originally ending in  $-\acute{\alpha}\omega$  to change to verbs in  $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  is abundantly illustrated by the evidence of other dialects, *e.g.* Cretan  $\mu\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  (*i.e.*  $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ ) instead of  $\mu\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$  in the Gortynian inscription, II., 21;  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha$  (*i.e.*  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha$ ) for  $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha$ , Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup> 132, 22;  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  (*i.e.*  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\epsilon\nu$ ) *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1885, 10, 8 (*cf.* Herforth, *De dialecto Cretica*, in *Dissertationes Halenses*, 1887, p. 279); Delphian  $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  Cauer, *Delectus*,<sup>2</sup> 211, 17, *et pass.*

8. The name of the city Idalium appears in Cyprian always as Ἰδάλιον; so COLL. 60, 1, 27; Ἰδαλίων (gen. sing.) 59, 1; Ἰδαλιοῖ (loc.) 62, 1; the inhabitants, Ἰδαλιῆφες 60, 2; Ἰδαλιῆji 60, 31; abbreviated Ἰδαλι. 205; 206. In 60, 16, 26 Deecke (*ad loc.*) takes the syllable *e*· as standing for the adjective Ἰδάλια or Ἰδαλιακά. The only reason for transcribing the *e*· here as Ἰ- instead of ἸE- lies in the fact that Ἰδάλιον as found in classic Greek always occurs with long initial vowel.

9. Deecke in COLL. 68, 1 reads *φήπω* as aor. subjunctive (= Att. εὔπω). Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxxvi., p. 17) had already proposed *φέπω*, which he explained as present indicative. Deecke suggested *φήπω* on metrical grounds. But the word cannot be correct. The Cyprian form would not be *φήπω*, as Deecke maintains (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 79, 5), but *φείπω*, with *ει* as in Attic. Cyprian has *η* only as the equivalent of the Attic *ει* arising by compensative lengthening or contraction (see below, § 14, 7; 15) not as the equivalent of the genuine diphthong *ει*, which *εἶπον* had. That the *ει* did not arise here by contraction from \**ε-φε-φεπ-ον* or \**ε-φε-φπ-ον*, but was the genuine diphthong *ει*, is shown by the Old Attic EPIEN CIA. iv., 22, b, 4 (450 B.C.) and frequently (see Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*<sup>1</sup>, p. 79, Anm. 648); also by Lesbian *φείπην*, the tradition in Alcæus 55, Sappho 28 (Bergk, *Poetæ Lyrici Græci*<sup>3</sup>).

10. On *η* for *ηι* (*i.e.* *η*) in the 3d sing. of the subjunctive, see below, under *Diphthongs*, § 13, 3, b.

11. On *η* arising by contraction, see § 14, 7.

12. On *η* arising by compensative lengthening, see § 15.

## 5.

### ο.

Cyprian *ο* answers regularly to primitive Greek *ο* and to *ο* of the other dialects; *e.g.* δάλτον COLL. 60, 26; ὅτε 60, 1; τόδε 102; δοφέναι 60, 5, 15; ἐπαγομενᾶν 59, 2.

1. ὀνέθηκε COLL. 72, 1; 74, 2; 75, 2; 120, 4 corresponds



to the vulgar ἀνέθηκε. Meister's conjecture of ὀ(μ)βά[ντι] (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 52, col. 1644) is not at all certain.

The origin of this monosyllabic form (frequent also in Lesbian, *e.g.* ἀντέθην *COLL.* 311, 8, 34; ἀνθέντα 311, 39, and in Thessalian, *e.g.* ἀνγραφεῖ *COLL.* 361, A, 11; B, 24; ἀνγράφειν 345, 21) is not clear. Whether ἀν-ά, ἐν, ὀν- represent three originally different forms of the same root (*i.e.* weak, strong, and ablaut), ὀν- finding its correspondent in German *an*, and ἄν being for ἡν (*cf.* Avestan *an-a*, for *yn-a*?) is a question too difficult and complicated to be entered into here. One thing, however, seems certain, that unless ἄν and ὀν- do stand to each other in the relation suggested, they are not etymologically connected, but originally different words, like μετά, πεδά; σύν, ξύν.

As to the use of ἄν and ὀν-, Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 55) thinks that ὀν- was the form originally employed before consonants, ἄν before vowels, and that ὀν- occurs before vowels, as in Thessalian and Cyprian, by a subsequent extension of its proper use. But this view lacks sufficient foundation. It is based upon too slender evidence, drawn from the Lesbian, which certainly admits of other interpretation (*cf.* Meister, *Griechische Dialekte*, I., p. 50).

Beside the above-quoted Cyprian forms with ὀν- we find also ἀνέθηκε *COLL.* 17, 2; 76, 1; in the second instance in an inscription from the same locality as 72; 74; 75, which all have ὀνέθηκε; also ἀνε-, *i.e.* ἀνέθηκε, in one of the fragments published by Sayce in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1884, No. 21, where Sayce erroneously takes ἀνε- as ἄνε, comparing Homeric ἡνον ὁδόν γ 496. (*Cf.* Voigt, *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 69.)

On ὀνέθηκε, *COLL.* 45, 3, for ὀνέθηκε, see below, § 9, 4.

2. The ο for υ in ἰθονίκη, Deecke's earlier reading of *COLL.* 41, disappears with the changed reading of that inscription (see *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317).

3. Ἀμό(ν)τα, *COLL.* 147, if correct, would speak for the similarity of ο and υ in this dialect, especially before nasals. *Cf.* below, on ὀνέθηκε, § 9, 4.

## 6.

## ω.

Except when arising from contraction or compensative lengthening, ω corresponds regularly to primitive Greek ω and ω of the other dialects, *e.g.* εὐχολᾶς COLL. 59, 3; δῶκοι 60, 16; ἄνωγον 60, 2.

1. On ω for ωι (*i.e.* ω) in final syllables, see § 13, 3, c.
2. On ω arising by contraction, see § 14, 5, 13.

## 7.

## ι.

Cyprian ι corresponds in general to primitive Greek ι and to ι of the other dialects; *e.g.* μισθῶν COLL. 60, 4; δεξιῶι 37, 2; ἡμί 20, 1, *et pass.*

1. In a number of words ι has been changed from an original ε, *viz.* ἐπιό(ν)τα COLL. 60, 9, 19, 22; φέπιῖα (Ion. ἔπεα) 60, 26; θιῶι 37, 2; 61; 75, 2; θιόν 60, 27; ἰό(ν)τα 60, 23; ἰῶσι 60, 31; τέρχνιῖα 60, 9, 18, 22; ἀτελίῖα 60, 23; κατέθιῖαν 60, 27; θιῶι *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323.

It will be seen that the phenomenon is confined to those cases where the ε was followed by α, ο, or ω; so also in Bœotian and Doric (*cf.* Bœotian θιός COLL. 425, *et pass.*; ἀνέθιαν 414, 1; Heracleian ἀδικίων I, 138). The *j* in the Cyprian forms κατέθιῖαν, φέπιῖα, ἀτελίῖα, τέρχνιῖα has been developed after the change of ε to ι; see below, § 18, 1. *Cf.* Pamphylian ἀ(ν)δριῖῶνα for ἀνδρεῶνα COLL. 1267, 8.

Forms which retain the ε before α, ο, ω are about as frequent as those which change it to ι, *viz.* Ἐτεοδάμα COLL. 135; Θεάνωρ 126, 1; θεῶ 2, 1; 3, 1; 15, 1; 16; θεῶι 27, 1; 40, 2; θεοῖς 68, 2; θεῶι 68, 3; 68, 4; 72, 2; θεῶ 74, 1; 78; Θεοσίμων 42; Θεοκλέος 126, 1; Τιμοκλέφεις 36; 64; Τιμοκλέος 35; Θεοδώρων 42; Στασικράτεος 18, 2; Τιμοκρέτεος *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, ii.; *ibid.* viii.; Φιλοκρέτεος *ibid.* vii.; Εὐφά(ν)θεος COLL. 162; Στασικρέτεος *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 68.



The change from ε to ι is confined almost exclusively to the two inscriptions COLL. 60, 61, both from Idalion. Outside of these it is found only three times, always in *θεός*, viz. *θιῶι* COLL. 37, 2; *θι[ῶι]* 75, 2; *θιῶι Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323. Of these the first is from Palaipaphos, the second from Athienou; the last from Tamassus. Spitzer's statement therefore (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 16) that every ε before α or ο becomes ι in Cyprian, was evidently a conclusion drawn from the Idalian Bronze Tablet (COLL. 60) alone, and needs revision accordingly.

On *ἀτελήν* COLL. 60, 10 (acc. sing. from *ἀτελής*, where we should expect *ἀτελίῃα* for *ἀτελέα*; cf. acc. plu. *ἀτελίῃα* in line 23) see below, under *Contraction*, § 14, 6, and *Declension*, § 29, 8.

2. Another peculiarity is the preposition *ἰν* for *ἐν*. This occurs always in the form *ἰ(ν)* (see § 23, 2), viz. in COLL. 17, 2; 27, 2; 28; 31, 4; 37, 3; 59, 4; 60, 1, 3, 8, 9, 17, 20, 31; 72, 2 (twice, once with the dative and once with the accusative); probably also in the compound *ἰναλαλισμένα* 60, 26; very questionable is *ἰνιπά* 126, 3.

The closely related Arcadian dialect also has the same peculiarity, e.g. *ἰν* COLL. 1222, 2, 4, 20, 37, *et pass.*; the compounds *ἰγγυος* (*ἔγγυος*) 1222, 36; *ἰγκεχηρήκοι* (Att. *ἐγκεχειρήκοι*) 1222, 12; *ἰμφαίνειν* (Att. *ἐμφαίνειν*) 1222, 24. The Arcadian also has *ἐν* several times, e.g. *ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι* COLL. 1183; *ἐν ἱράναι* 1235, 5, *et pass.*; but only before a vowel.

It is an ingenious theory of Spitzer (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 14) that *ἰν* developed in Arcadian from *ἐν* before initial consonants, and he adduces analogies for this change from other languages, Old German and Latin; e.g. Lat. *tingo* for *\*tengo* (cf. *τέγγω*), *quīnque* (i.e. *\*pīnque*) for *\*penque* (cf. *πέντε*), though it must be confessed that such words as *ventus*, *offendimentum* (Idg. *bhendh-*) furnish puzzling exceptions.

The fact that *ἐν* has survived in Arcadian is sufficient evidence that *ἰν* developed in that dialect only under certain conditions (otherwise *ἐν* would have disappeared altogether), and Spitzer's theory that this was before consonants is highly

probable. According to him the old formula ἐν πολέμοι καὶ ἐν ἰράναι (COLL. 1233, 5) represents the proper use of ἐν and ἰν respectively in Arcadian. (Cf. the similar relation of ἐς and εἰς in Attic, the former of which was *originally* used before an initial consonant, the latter before an initial vowel.) At the same time, Arcadian ἰν has already begun to encroach upon the legitimate territory of ἐν; e.g. ἰν ἀμέραις COLL. 1222, 4; ἰναγόντω 1222, 19.

In Cyprian, ἰ(ν), when used alone as a preposition, occurs only before initial consonants, never before a vowel, rejecting ἰν Ἀμύ(ν)τω, COLL. 41, in view of Deecke, *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317. In composition we have probably one instance of ἰν before a vowel, *viz.* ἰναλαλισμένα COLL. 60, 26. ἰνιπά COLL. 126, 3, is too doubtful to admit. Deecke now (*Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 319) reads *ta · i · ne · ta · li · o · i ·*, i.e. τὰ ἰν Ἠδαλίῳι, in COLL. 62, in place of his previous reading *ta · i · | e · ta · li · o · i ·*, i.e. τὰ Ἠδαλιῶι (locative). This would give an instance of ἰν before a vowel. But the character which Deecke now wishes to take as *ne*; while perhaps not a perfect *e*; is certainly entirely different from the ordinary character for *ne*; as seen not only in Idalian inscriptions, but others as well, and the mark after *ta · i ·* as given in Schmidt (*Sammlung Kyprischer Inschriften in Epichorischer Schrift*, vii., 2) which Deecke wishes to join with the character in question bears every evidence of being a divisor. I can hardly believe therefore that Deecke is right in this new reading, whatever may be the difficulties of the old one.

The form ἐν has not as yet been brought to light in any Cyprian inscription, but, under the circumstances, this must not be regarded as conclusive evidence that it did not exist side by side with ἰν just as in Arcadian. The only place in which ἐν might fairly be expected to occur would be before an initial vowel (assuming Spitzer's theory to be correct), and but a single instance (itself not perfectly certain) of this sort can be cited (*viz.* ἰναλαλισμένα COLL. 60, 26), which of course so far as it goes contradicts Spitzer's theory when applied to the Cyprian.

Hall's latest reading of COLL. 76 (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 223), which he has again examined in the Cesnola collection in New York since the appearance of Collitz's *Sammlung*, is τὰν φεικόνα τὰ(ν)δε ὕν Ἀπό[λ(λ)ωνα], — i.e. 'to Apollo,' in which he takes ὕν for ἰν with aphæresis of the ἰ (cf. οὐ (ὕν) for οὐ ἰ(ν) COLL. 60, 31). His reading, if correct, would, in view of the preceding τὰ(ν)δε, indicate that ε had disappeared rather than ι, and might be taken as furnishing some slight evidence of the existence of ἐν; but in view of the incompleteness of the inscription and the possibilities of combination, Hall's reading cannot be considered safe enough to base conclusions upon. Yet it is quite possible that the form ἰν may have existed in Cyprian and may yet be brought to light. At all events, until instances of ἰν before vowels are discovered, we have no right to declare that ἰν had driven ἐν out of use in Cyprian; any more than we should be justified in claiming the same for the Arcadian dialect on the basis of Arcadian ἰν ἀμέραις COLL. 1222, 4, and ἰναγόντω 1222, 19, assuming that instances of ἐν before vowels in Arcadian had not yet been found. Arcadian ἰν ἀμέραις and ἰναγόντω when viewed in the light of ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι COLL. 1200, 3; ἐν ἰράναι 1233, 5; ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι 1183, 6; ἐν ἀγῶσι 1231, are seen to be encroachments of ἰν upon the domain of ἐν. Cyprian ἰναλαλισμένα is perhaps most safely explained in the same way.

Further light is thrown upon the question by the Cyprian forms μέν COLL. 71 (μὲν ἔστασαν) and μί COLL. 1, 1; 2, 2 (μὶ κατέθηκε). These forms μέν and μί are unquestionably for μέ, the acc. sing. of the first personal pronoun. On the origin of μέν from μέ, see § 31, 1. μί is certainly to be considered as μί(ν) (see § 31, 2), and as developed from μέν before a consonant, just as ἰν from ἐν. Only the initial vowel of ἔστασαν in COLL. 71 has preserved to us the form μέν. Can we doubt that, if we had preserved to us instances of the preposition (ἐν, ἰν) before initial vowels, it would appear as ἐν?

On Hall's reading of μί(ν) in COLL. 45, 1, before an initial vowel and Voigt's reading of μίν in 45, 4, also before an initial vowel, see § 23, 4; 9, 4.

3. On the ι of the κατέθισαν (= Att. κατέθεσαν) COLL. 20, 2, see below, under *Conjugation*, § 32, 5.

## 8.

## ι.

Where it occurs, ι corresponds to primitive Greek ι and to ι of the other dialects; e.g. Δαμονίκω COLL. 151; 179; Ἐχετίμων 38, 2; Θεοτίμων 42; ἰνις Bezz. Beitr., xi, p. 316; πιθι COLL. 135.

1. ἰρῶνι COLL. 60, 8; 31, if correct and to be connected with ἱερός in the sense of 'consecrated district,' probably had ι, which must be explained in the same way as the perplexing Homeric ἱρός, Lesbian ἱρος. Osthoff (*Morphologische Untersuchungen*, iv., p. 151) assumes \*ἰσ-ρός for the original form, as otherwise it is impossible to account for the ι in Lesbian; a primitive \*ἰσρός would have given \*ἱρρος in that dialect.

Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxxv., p. 42) reads the ι with the preceding τῶ, i.e. τῶι ῥωνί, or according to his principles τοῖ ῥωνί (τοῖ locative; see below, § 27, 3) 'in the plain.'

2. φιδωλός is Deecke's reading in COLL. 126, 3 for φειδωλός. But the change of primitive α to ι in Cyprian is altogether improbable, since α whether original or of secondary origin is elsewhere retained; e.g. πείσει COLL. 60, 12, 25; φέτει 59, 1; 60, 1; ἔτει 76, 1; αἰφεί 60, 31; Ἀπείλων Berl. Phil. Woch., 1886, No. 42, col. 1323. Moreover, one or two of the characters of which the word consists are quite uncertain.

## 9.

## ϣ.

Cyprian ϣ corresponds in general to primitive Greek ϣ and to ϣ of the other dialects; e.g. ἐπέτυχε COLL. 59, 4; κάρυξ 65, 1; σύν 60, 28; ἀργύρω 60, 6, et pass.

1. δυφάνοι (for δν-άν-οι, with parasitic f, see § 17, 2) COLL. 60, 6 seems to be from the root δν- 'give,' seen in Lat. *du-im*,

*du-int*, and not to be confounded with *δω-*, *δο-*. Cf. Deecke-Siegismund in Curtius' *Studien*, vii., p. 248.

2. Final *ο* in Cyprian when preceded by a consonant invariably changed to *υ*. The instances are *ἀπύ* COLL. 60, 8, 17; *γένοιτυ* 60, 29; *ἐφερτάσατυ* 60, 14; *εὐφερτάσατυ* 60, 4; *ὠρίσετυ* 126, 1. So in Arcadian; *e.g.* *ἀπύ* COLL. 1222, 4; *ἄλλυ* 1222, 40. The Thessalian and Lesbian also have *ἀπύ*, and the Pamphylian shows the change of *ο* to *υ* not only in case of final *ο*, but also elsewhere; *e.g.* *ἐβωλάσετυ* COLL. 1267, 8; *φοικύπολις* 1267, 14; *βωλήμενυς* 1267, 13.

Arcadian *κατύ* (for *κατά*) COLL. 1222, 11, 29, has not yet been found in Cyprian. Nor does *κατά* itself occur.

3. So also in *-ᾱο* the ending of the gen. sing. of masculine *-ᾱ-* stems, *ο* usually changes to *υ*, preparatory to undergoing contraction to *-αυ*, *e.g.* *Θεμίαν* COLL. 66; *Μαράκαν* 29; but we find *ᾱο-* in *Κυπραγόρᾱο* COLL. 79 and *Δαχάτισᾱο* 58. On these see below, § 14, 4.

4. *ὐνέθηκε* is read by Deecke, COLL. 45, 3, as a local variation of *ὀνέθηκε*, *i.e.* *ἀνέθηκε*; see above, § 5, 1. The only difficulty with this reading is that the character for *υ* (Μ) has a superfluous horizontal line drawn over its top. This has led Voigt (*Quaestiones de Titulis Cypriis*, p. 282, and later in *Bess. Beitr.*, ix., p. 166) to conjecture an error of the stone-cutter, whereby the horizontal line was made over, instead of under, the rest of the character. With that change we should get the regular syllabic sign for *mi*. This combined with the other characters gives *μιν ἔθηκε*, in which Voigt takes *μιν* as the equivalent of *μέ*. But 1) it seems more natural to regard the horizontal line above the *υ* as an accidental scratch than as a mistake of the engraver.

2) *μιν* for *μεν*, *i.e.* *με*, before an initial vowel, is not admissible (see above, § 7, 2, *ad fin.*).

3) *ἔθηκε* is not the proper word for a dedicatory inscription, as this evidently is. The regular word is *ὀνέθηκε* or *ἀνέθηκε*, which occurs frequently (see above, § 5, 1).

4) Voigt's objection to the form of the word (*ὐν-* for *ὀν-*) is not well founded, and is the result of a false conception of



the relation of  $\acute{o}v-$  and  $\acute{\alpha}v-$ . Voigt takes  $\acute{o}v-$  as derived from  $\acute{\alpha}v-$  by some phonetic process, and refuses to believe that  $\acute{\alpha}v-$  after becoming  $\acute{o}v-$  could still further progress to  $\acute{\upsilon}v-$ .  $\acute{o}v-$ , however, must be taken as an independent form (see above, § 5, 1), and that it should become  $\acute{\upsilon}v-$ , in a dialect where the relations of  $\circ$  and  $\upsilon$  are confessedly very close, is not to be regarded as surprising.

That these relations were close is made evident not only by the regular change of final  $-\circ$  to  $-\upsilon$ , as noted above, but also by  $\acute{\Lambda}\mu\acute{o}(\upsilon)\tau\alpha$  COLL. 147, for  $\acute{\Lambda}\mu\acute{\upsilon}(\upsilon)\tau\alpha$  (if correct; see § 5, 3), and  $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$  for  $\acute{o}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon$ . Cf. the same phenomenon in Bæotian  $\acute{\Lambda}\mu\acute{o}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  (for  $\acute{\Lambda}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ) COLL. 603;  $\text{Νι}\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$  (for  $\text{Νι}\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ) COLL. 485, 24. It is noteworthy that in Bæotian too the phenomenon seems to occur chiefly before nasals.

5. Spitzer (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 17, note) cites Cyprian  $\delta\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota$  COLL. 60, 6 as illustrating the change of  $\circ$  to  $\upsilon$  in the interior of a word. But  $\delta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  in the same inscription, lines 5, 15, certainly does not speak for this change, nor do other words in the dialect; so that the reference of the word to root  $\delta\upsilon-$ , as above (1), is undoubtedly correct.

## 10.

$\bar{\upsilon}$ .

We find  $\bar{\upsilon}$  in  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta$  (i.e.  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta$ ) COLL. 60, 29;  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\iota$  60, 28;  $\sigma\bar{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$  (i.e.  $\sigma\bar{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$ ) 126, 2, where it corresponds to  $\bar{\upsilon}$  of the other dialects, and presents no peculiarities.

## DIPHTHONGS.

## 11.

$\alpha\iota$ .

1. Primitive Greek  $\alpha\iota$  appears in  $\alpha\iota\phi\acute{\epsilon}\iota$  COLL. 60, 31;  $\delta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$  (Att.  $\delta\acute{o}\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ , for  $\delta\phi(\acute{\epsilon})\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ ) 60, 5, 15;  $\acute{\iota}\hat{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  60, 3.

2.  $\acute{\upsilon}\phi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ , the accepted reading in COLL. 60, 10, is taken by Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxxv., p. 54) as from the preposition  $\acute{\upsilon}$  (=  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$ ; see below, § 33, 5) with the adverbial ending  $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$

appended. On the parasitic *f* see § 17, 2. This ending *-ais*, which appears nowhere else in Greek, Ahrens identifies with the Skrt. termination *-āis* as seen in *uccāis*, *śānāis*. But these are instrumentals from *-o-* stems (see Whitney, *Indische Grammatik*, § 1112), and are formally identical with the so-called dat. plu. of *-o-* stems in *-ois* (for *\*-ois*, Idg. *-ōis*; as *Ζεύς* for *Ζήϋς*; *ναῦς* for *νᾱῦς*, etc.; Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 298). On a more probable explanation of *ῥφαις*, see below, § 33, 5.

3. Interesting is *αἰλων*, COLL. 60, 14, = Att. *ἄλλον*. This is by epenthesis for a primitive *\*ἄλλος* (Lat. *alius*), whence *\*αἰλλος*, *αἶλος*. Cf. the Hesychian gloss *αἰλότροπον ἄλλοιότροπον* and the recently discovered Cyprian form *Ἀπείλων* (for *\*Ἀπέλλων*) in the inscription communicated by Deecke in the *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323.

4. *āi* has also been assumed by Spitzer (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 26) in preference to *-ai* (i.e. *-a*) as the ending of such singular forms as *μάχαι*, *τύχαι*, *Γολγίαι*, etc. Spitzer first (*ibid.*, p. 25) attempts to demonstrate for the Arcadian that the forms in *-ai* in that dialect have the *a* short and not long (*-āi* not *-āi*). He is convinced that *-āi* could not have remained unchanged in Arcadian, but would have lost the iota and so have appeared as *-ā*. His grounds for this are that final *-ηi* (i.e. *-η*) loses its iota in Arcadian and appears as *-η*; e.g. *τυγχάνη*, COLL. 1222, 14, for *τυγχάνηi*. He also adduces Arcadian *Ἀγεμώ*, which he takes as for *Ἀγεμώi*, COLL. 1185. But this last is by no means certain.

Spitzer's reasoning, however, is not conclusive, since final *āi*, *ηi*, *ωi* do not necessarily all develop in the same way; and in fact even in one and the same dialect one and the same diphthong sometimes retains the *i* and sometimes drops it; e.g. Ionic *τῇ βουλῇ* (for *τῇ βουλῇi*) Erythrae, 394 B.C.; *δημοσίη*, Mylasa, 355 B.C.; but *τῇ φυχῇ*, Samos, 322 B.C., Cauer, *Delectus*,<sup>2</sup> § 10, 6. Hence it is quite possible that the Arcadian might have retained final *-āi*, and that such forms as *Τεγέαι* COLL. 1222, 34; *Ἀρκαδίαi* 1200, 3; *Ὀλυμπίαi* 1183, 6; *ζαμίαi* 1222, 18, should be considered as ending in *-āi*, so far as any phonetic necessity is concerned. The only reason

for not taking them as ending in  $-\bar{a}$  is found in the corresponding forms from  $-\sigma-$  stems; *e.g.* ἔργοι COLL. 1222, 49; ἡμίσσοι 1222, 25. These latter must necessarily be regarded as locatives (to explain them as datives, with  $-\sigma$  shortened from  $-\omega$  is against all principles of Greek phonology), and so after the same analogy the forms from  $-\bar{a}-$  stems are most naturally taken as locative, and as ending in  $-\bar{a}$ . A confirmation of this view is found in the similar Bæotian forms from  $-\sigma-$  and  $-\bar{a}-$  stems; *e.g.* δῖμν (*i.e.* δῖμοι) COLL. 380, 3; ταμίη (*i.e.* ταμίᾱ) COLL. 385, 5.

The above considerations, therefore, are not intended to show the incorrectness of Spitzer's conclusion in regard to the Arcadian forms in  $-\bar{a}$ , but simply the unsafeness of his method in reaching that conclusion. The same theory (*viz.* that  $-\bar{a}$  cannot stand in Arcadian) applied to the closely related Cyprian dialect, as Spitzer (*ibid.*, p. 26) does apply it, leads to a false conclusion. Let us first look at the facts. We find in Cyprian the following dative forms:—

1) forms in  $-\alpha$  (whether  $-\bar{a}$  or  $-\alpha$  is to be determined).

τύχαι ἀζαθᾱι COLL. 37, 3; 59, 4; Ἀλα(μ)πριῖάται 60, 8; ἀρούραι 60, 20; Ἀφροδίται 1, 3; Γολγῖαι 61; ζᾱι 60, 8, 17, 24; Μαλανίῃαι 60, 17; μάχαι 60, 3; Παφῖαι 1, 3; πεδίῃαι 60, 18; Περσεύται 45, 3; τᾱι 1, 2; 40, 2; 60, 3, 6, 8 (twice), 17 (twice), 18, 24; 61 (twice); 62, 1; τύχαι 17, 2; 27, 2; 28; 31, 4; 33, 2; 37, 3; 72, 2; *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323; 1887, No. 12, col. 380; Ὑλάται COLL. 27, 1; 28; 31, 4; 32, 2; Ἀθάναι 17, 2; Ἀλασιώται *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 12, col. 380; Ἀρισταγόραι *ibid.*, 1887, No. 52, col. 1644; δοῖᾱι, Deecke's earlier reading in COLL. 41, is now no longer maintained by him. (See *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317.)

2) forms in  $-\bar{a}$ .

Ἀθάνα COLL. 62; τύχα 74, 3; 120, 4; τᾱ 17, 2; 60, 8, 17; 62, 1; τᾱ Παφῖα, the correct reading of COLL. 9, according to Hall (*Four. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 212). εὐχωλᾱ 27, 2 is best taken as nominative; Ἑπεοδάμα COLL. 135, which Deecke (*ad loc.*) says may be taken as either dat. or gen. (with omitted  $-\sigma$ ; see § 20, 1) is best taken as vocative; ὁσέῃα,



Deccke's earlier reading in COLL. 41 is no longer maintained by him; see *Bezz. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317.

Spitzer's conclusion with regard to the above forms (whether he had them all before him is doubtful) is this. Those in *-αι*, while used as datives, he considers may be morphologically either locative or dative formations. Both these formations, he holds, were in case of *-ā-* stems originally the same, the locative *-āi* arising from primitive *ā+ι*, the dative *-āi* from *ā+αι*. Either of these, according to Spitzer, must develop to *-ā* in Arcadian or Cyprian. The forms in *-αι* on the other hand he takes as locatives and as ending in *-āi*. This *-āi* he regards not as a primitive locative formation, but as developed secondarily from the primitive locative termination *-āi* (for *ā+ι*), after the analogy of the locatives in *-οι* from *-ο-* stems (*e.g.* οἴκοι). This may be expressed by the proportion:

$$\text{οἴκω} : \text{οἴκοι} :: \text{τύχα} : \text{τύχαι}.$$

Against Spitzer's theory must be urged

1) There is no evidence that the *-ā-* stems ever formed a locative in *ā+ι*, which might give *-āi*. (*Cf.* Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 351.) Hence the locatives in *-āi* from *-ā-* stems are not the successors of an earlier locative formation in *-āi*, but are best explained as entirely new formations. This being the case, the Cyprian forms in *-ā-* could originate only from a dative *-āi*, not from a locative *-āi*. They are therefore datives.

2) If we view the forms in *-αι* as locatives (*i.e.* as ending in *āi*), we shall have the anomaly of the locative taking on the function of the dative, and being used in precisely the same phrases and formulas, along with the continued use of the dative itself. The improbability of this fact is sufficiently great. Wherever one inflectional form takes on the function of another, it is to the exclusion of the latter, at least in the same function. Thus Arcadian ἔργοι, locative used as dative, has supplanted ἔργω; ζαμίαι similarly has supplanted ζαμίω. So also Attic τείχη, dual (borrowed from plu.), has taken its

place in the dual to the exclusion of the regular formation  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\chi\epsilon\iota$  (for  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\chi\epsilon\epsilon$ ); cf. Att  $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\gamma\epsilon\iota$  CIA. II., 652, B, 26 (Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*,<sup>1</sup> p. 61). But according to Spitzer's view, in such an inscription as  $\tau\hat{a}$  'Αθάναι COLL. 17, 2 we should have a dative article  $\tau\hat{a}$  limiting a locative noun. (Cf. also 60, 8, 17 ἀπὸ τῶν ζῶντων βασιλῆος  $\tau\hat{a}$  ἰ(ν) τῶ ἱρώνι, where similarly  $\tau\hat{a}$ , dative, would stand in apposition with a locative τῶν ζῶντων.)

3) The adverb  $\pi\alpha\iota$  (cf. Doric  $\pi\alpha$ , Attic  $\pi\eta$ ) COLL. 60, 4, 12; 71, can only be for  $\pi\bar{a}\iota$ , and shows clearly that final  $-\bar{a}\iota$  in Cyprian did not necessarily lose its  $\iota$ , and that other forms with  $-\bar{a}\iota$  may therefore exist in Cyprian.

The forms in  $-\bar{a}\iota$  are therefore to be considered as datives, hence as ending in  $-\bar{a}\iota$ , while those in  $-\bar{a}$  are also datives, with the  $-\bar{a}$  developed from  $-\bar{a}\iota$ , as frequent in many dialects. Ahrens assumes a locative in  $-\bar{a}\iota$ , and a dative in  $-\bar{a}$  and  $-\bar{a}\iota$ . See below under *Inflections*, § 25, 5.

5. Διῳαίθεμι(s) COLL. 74, 1 (cf. Διφείθεμις 60, 21) is obscure in its form and probably incorrect, as the inscription seems to be carelessly written.

## 12.

### ει.

Cyprian  $\epsilon\iota$  corresponds regularly to primitive Greek  $\epsilon\iota$  and to  $\epsilon\iota$  of the other dialects in αἰφεί COLL. 60, 31; φεικόνα 76, 2; πείσει (Att.<sup>1</sup> τείσει) 60, 12, 25.

1.  $\epsilon\iota$  by epenthesis appears in the form 'Απειλῶν in the bilingual inscription communicated by Deecke in the *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323. The original formation \*'Απέλιων, became first \*'Απείλιων and thence 'Απείλων. Cf. Pamphylian 'Απέλ(λ)ωνα (for \*'Απέλιωνα) COLL. 1267, 30; Syracusan 'Απέλ(λ)ωνι Roehl, *Inscriptiones Graccae Antiquissimae*, 509, and the Arcadian proper name 'Απελλίων COLL. 1190, all of which represent the same form of the

<sup>1</sup> Often incorrectly written τίσω; but  $\tau\epsilon\iota$ - is the regular form of the root for the future and is assured by Attic inscriptions of the best period. See Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*,<sup>1</sup> p. 24, 88.

root syllable, *viz.* πελ-. The ordinary Cyprian form Ἀπόλ-(λ)ων represents the ablaut of the same root, while Thessalian Ἀπλουν (ου = ω), seen in Ἀπλουνι COLL. 368; 372; Ἀπλουνος 345, 22, represents the weak form. Cf. the similar "Abstufung" in the name Ποσειδών, Laconian Ποοιδᾶν (*i.e.* Ποσοιδᾶν) Roehl, *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*, 83; Corinthian Ποτιδάν *ibid.*, 20.

2. The ε of the form ἐφέισης COLL. 68, 2 cannot be justified. Deecke (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 79) takes this as the equivalent of the Homeric εἶση (*cf.* νῆες εἶσαι, *i.e.* \*ἐφῖσαι). But assuming this to be correct the change of ι to ε or the opposite (see on φῖδωλός, § 8, 2) remains to be proved for the Cyprian dialect. All the existing evidence shows that no such change took place. Moreover, the primitive form of the Homeric word was φίσφος, as shown by the recently discovered Gortynian inscription. φίσφόμοιρον x., 53; φίσφον Frag. B, 2. Hence the probable reading of the Homeric text is ἐ-ίσσαι (for \*ἐ-φῖσαι; the ε prothetic). It is clear that a form ἐ-φισφ- could not give Cyprian ἐ-φεισ-. The Ionic η too, of the termination, discredits the word, and the phrase, ποτ' (for ποτί, *i.e.* πρὸς) ἐφέισης is not elsewhere found. On the general uncertainty of the context, see p. 2.

3. The ε in the first member of Διφειθεμῖς COLL. 60, 21, where some claim an old dative, is difficult of explanation. Attic Διειτρέφης CIA. I., 447, III., 53, *et pass.* is probably kindred.

4. On ε arising by contraction, see § 14, 9.

### 13.

ευ, οι; αι, ηι, ωι; αυ.

1. In one or two instances ευ has developed from ε before *f*, *viz.* in εὐφερητάσατυ (for ἐφερητάσατυ) COLL. 60, 3, and κενευ-ρόν (for κενερόν; *cf.* Homeric κενεός) 20, 2. This points clearly to *f* as a bilabial and not a labio-dental spirant in Cyprian, as does also the development of *f* between ευ and a following vowel (see below, § 17, 2); though that it points to

that pronunciation of *f* for all Greek dialects, as Meyer (*Gr.* *Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 230) seems to conclude, cannot be admitted. There may have been a labio-dental as well as a bilabial *f* in Greek, just as in Germany in case of *w*.

The *v* which was doubtless heard in the spoken language between every *ε* and a succeeding *f* is not expressed in inscriptions except in the instances above cited. Elsewhere we find *ἐφρητάσατυ* COLL. 60, 14; *ἔφρεξα* 71; *Ἑτερά(ν)δρω* 46; 47; *κατεφόρων* 60, 1; *νεροστάτας* 59, 2; *Νικοκλέφης* 40, 1.

The same development of *ο* to *ου* before *f* probably existed, but existing inscriptions show no evidence of any attempt to indicate this refinement of pronunciation. Cf. *δοφέναι* COLL. 60, 5, 15; *Ἀριστοκόφων* (questioned by Hall, *Four. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 216) 45, 1.

2. *οι* has also been assumed by Spitzer (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 24, Note) as the termination of those forms from *-ο-* stems which Deecke transcribes as *-ωι* (*i.e.* *-ω*, dative). Spitzer takes these as locatives, holding that *-ωι* could not remain unchanged in either Arcadian or Cyprian, but must always become *-ω*. That *-ωι* did frequently lose its *ι* in Cyprian is beyond question. This is shown clearly by the frequent dative forms in *-ω* (for the instances see below, 3, c). But it is not true that *-ωι* always lost its *ι* any more than did *-αι* (see above, § 11, 4); *-αι* and *-ωι* seem both of them to be passing through a sort of transition period in the dialect of our Cyprian inscriptions.

Moreover if, with Spitzer, we transcribe Cyprian *-ο·ι·* by *-οι* (*i.e.* locative), we shall be forced to admit a serious inconsistency in such phrases as *τοῖ θεῶ* COLL. 74, 1 and *τοῖ θεοῖ τῶ Ὑλάται* 27, 1, where we should have a dative article limiting a locative noun. There is therefore not only no phonetic necessity for admitting *-οι* instead of *-ωι*, but to do so would lead to an absurdity. The view of Ahrens, who claims a locative in *-οι* and also a dative in *-ωι* and *-ω*, involves no phonetic considerations and will be considered below under *Inflections*, § 26, 3.

3. The diphthongs  $-\bar{a}i$ ,  $-\eta i$ ,  $-\omega i$  (*i.e.*  $-\alpha$ ,  $-\eta$ ,  $-\omega$ ) often lose their  $i$  and appear as  $-\bar{a}$ ,  $-\eta$ ,  $-\omega$ .

a) The examples of  $-\bar{a}$  for  $-\bar{a}i$  have already been given above (see § 11, 4, 2). So far as can be seen they reveal no law. Yet as we find forms in  $-\bar{a}$  and  $-\bar{a}i$  side by side in the same inscription, it is natural to assume a phonetic origin for the shorter forms. These may have originated before initial vowels, while  $-\bar{a}i$  was retained before consonants, though the evidence is not sufficient to make this at all certain.

b) Final  $\eta$  stands regularly in the 3d sing. of the subjunctive for  $-\eta i$ , *viz.* in  $\lambdaύση$  COLL. 60, 29;  $συλήση$  126, 2;  $ἐξ ὀρύξη$  60, 12, 24, 25. Cf. Arcadian  $τυγχάνη$  COLL. 1222, 14;  $ἐχη$  1222, 26; Cretan  $καταλύη$  Cauer, *Delectus*,<sup>2</sup> 44, 69. Deecke's "Αδη COLL. 126, 2, which he takes for "Λιδη, is not certain (see § 4, 1). Final  $\eta i$  is nowhere retained in Cyprian, so that Deecke's suggestion of "Τφη as the reading of COLL. 124, is un-Cyprian, apart from the general uncertainty as to the genuineness of the inscription; see p. 3.

It is noteworthy that while we have frequent instances of  $-\bar{a}i$  and  $-\omega i$  in Cyprian,  $-\eta i$  nowhere occurs, but always  $-\eta$  instead. The Cyprian accordingly exhibits the same tendency as other dialects, in which  $-\eta i$  is the first of the improper diphthongs to lose its  $i$ . Cf. in the Theraean inscription (Cauer, *Delectus*,<sup>2</sup> 148),  $πάθη$  II., 28;  $ἦ vi$ , 20;  $εἴπη$  viii., 9; but  $τῶι κοινῶι$  ii., 9;  $Ἀνδραγόραι$  iii., 2. This is physiologically natural, as the  $i$  being more closely related in sound to  $\eta$  than to  $\omega$  and  $\bar{a}$ , would more easily be absorbed by a preceding  $\eta$  than by either of the other two vowels. (Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, I., p. 121.)

c)  $-\omega i$  (*i.e.*  $-\varphi$ ) loses the  $i$  and appears as  $-\omega$  in the following instances:  $τῶι θεῶ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνι$  COLL. 74, 1;  $τῶι θεῶι τῶ Ὑλάται$  27, 1;  $τῶ Ὑλάται$  28;  $Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι τῶ Ὑλάται$  31, 4;  $τ'Ωσίρι$  (*i.e.*  $τῶ Ὀσίρι$ ) 45, 1;  $τῶ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι τῶ Ἀμύκλωι$  59, 3;  $τῶ ἱρῶνι τῶι Ἀλα(μ)πριάται$  60, 8;  $τῶ ἱρῶνι τῶι Ἡδαλιῆι$  60, 31;  $τῶ Ὀσίρι$  72, 1;  $τῶι θεῶι τῶ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι$  72, 2;  $τῶι θι[ῶι] τῶ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι$  75, 3;  $τῶ Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι τῶ Μαγριῶι$  120, 2, 3;  $τῶ θιῶι$  *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323;

Ἄρισταγόραι τῷ Ὀνασιφοίκῳ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 52, 1644. Ἀ(ι)δη(ι) μισαύτω *COLL.* 126, 2 and τῷ ἀ(ν)θρώπῳ 126, 3 are very doubtful.

An examination of the above instances almost tempts to the conclusion that -ω originated from -ωι before vowels. Rejecting the last two forms as uncertain, all the others accord with this inference, except τῷ θιῶι *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323; τῷ Μαγρίῳ *COLL.* 120, 3; θεῶ τῷ 74, 1. But forms in -ωι also occur quite numerous before vowels; e.g. τῶι Ἄλα(μ)πριῖται *COLL.* 60, 8; τῶι ἔλει 60, 9; τῶι Ἡδαλιῖι 60, 31; τῶι Ἀπειλῶνι *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323, so that the existence of the law suggested cannot be established. The absence of such a law in the occurrence of -ᾱ and -ᾱι (see a, above) is also opposed to its existence here.

4. On αυ by contraction from -ᾱο, see § 14, 4.

#### 14.

##### *Contraction of Vowels.*

1. ᾱ+ε gives ᾱ in ἰῖᾱσθαι (for ἰῖᾱεσθαι) *COLL.* 60, 3 and by crasis in τᾱπί (for τᾱ ἐπί) 37, 2.

2. ᾱ+ο. Αὐλάονος *COLL.* 63; δίμαον 69; Δάοφα 83 are all too uncertain to be considered here.

3. ᾱ+ω. Ἀβροθάωι *COLL.* 129, 130; Ἀνώω 97; τιμῶ 69 are all uncertain.

4. ᾱ+ο. Final -ᾱο in the gen. sing. of masc. -ᾱ- stems (*cf.* Homeric Ἀτρεΐδᾱο) contracts to -αυ as in Arcadian (*cf.* Arc. Ἀπολλωνίδαν *COLL.* 1231, B, 16), *viz.* in Ἀρισταγόραν *COLL.* 28; Ἀριστήαν 20, 1; Θεμίαν 66; Μαράκαν 29; Νασιώταν 21, 2; Ὀνασαγόραν 60, 1, 22; Στασήαν 17, 1; Τιμαγόραν *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, viii.; Ὀνασαγόραν *ibid.*, x.; Στασαγόραν *ibid.*; Πνυταγόραν *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 51, xv.; Τιμαγόραν *ibid.*, xvii.

Κυπραγόρᾱο *COLL.* 79 and Δαῖατίσᾱο 58, however, remain uncontracted. Deecke on the latter regards the termination -ᾱο as also diphthongal, which is perhaps correct. *Cf.* Ionic ἀδοῖς, ταῶτα, αὐτόν (for αὐτοῖς, *etc.*) Cauer, *Delectus*,<sup>2</sup> 510.



Ἀμηνίῃᾱ, COLL. 60, 18, gen. sing. from Ἀμηνίῃας, Ἀριστίῃᾱ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 52, xx., and Εὐφαγόρω, 153, 154, gen. sing. of Εὐφαγόρας (*cf.* Ὀνασαγόραν above), are difficult of explanation and due perhaps to foreign influence. See below, under *Inflections*, § 25, 3.

5.  $\bar{a} + \omega$  contracts to  $\bar{a}$  in the gen. pl. of  $\bar{a}$ -stems. The only example preserved is ἐπαγομενᾶν COLL. 59, 2. *Cf.* Arcadian ἐργωνᾶν COLL. 1222, 47.

6.  $\epsilon + \tilde{a}$  does not contract in Cyprian, but in the Idalian Bronze Tablet (COLL. 60)  $\epsilon$  becomes  $\iota$  according to § 7, 1, always with the parasitic  $j$  (see § 18, 1), *viz.* in τέρχινῃᾱ, COLL. 60, 9, 18, 22; φέπινῃᾱ 60, 26; ἀτελίῃᾱ 60, 23; κατέθινῃᾱ 60, 27.

ἀτελῆν, acc. sing. from ἀτελής, Deecke's reading in COLL. 60, 10, is no exception to the above principle. This is not to be taken as a contracted form for ἀτελέα (*cf.* ἀτελίῃᾱ 60, 23), *i.e.* ἀτελῆ, with added  $-\nu$ , as in case of ἀ(ν)δριῖ(ν)τα-ν COLL. 59, 2 (see § 29, 1), but is rather the same formation as is seen in Lesbian δαμοτέλην (from δαμοτέλης) COLL. 304, A, 44 (see under *Inflections*, § 29, 8). Hence the form is to be written ἀτελήν.

Instead of Deecke's ἦ κε (= εἴ κε) COLL. 60, 10, 23, Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 113, foot-note) suggests ἦ(ν) κε. (On (ν) see § 23, 2.) This ἦ(ν) he takes as the Cyprian contract form of εἰν. We should thus have the same combination of κε and ἄν as in Homer; *e.g.* ὄφρ' ἄν μέν κεν A 187. But it is inadmissible to assume contraction of  $\epsilon\alpha$  to  $\eta$  and is moreover unnecessary. Meyer's unwillingness to accept ἦ as an independent particle (related to but not identical with εἴ) is not well founded in view of the occurrence of ἦ in this sense in the Cretan inscription from Gortyna, *e.g.* iv., 31; v., 9.

Outside of the Bronze Tablet  $\epsilon\tilde{a}$  remains unchanged, *viz.* in Θεάνωρ COLL. 126, 1; Νεα- 76.

7.  $\epsilon + \epsilon$  gives  $\eta$  in ἦχε (for \*ἔεχε, *i.e.* \*ἔ-σεχ-ε), Att. εἶχε, COLL. 60, 21. Whether the same contraction takes place in the infinitive of  $\omega$ -verbs is uncertain. Deecke in COLL. 60, 10, 22 writes ἔχην, *i.e.* for \*ἔχε-εν, Att. ἔχειν. See below, under *Conjugation*, § 32, 11.

εὐζαφεῖτε COLL. 56 which Deecke reads as contracted form for εὐζαφέετε (*Bess. Beitr.*, vi., p. 148) cannot be regarded as a Cyprian form.

In the group -εο- εε does not contract, but the group is simplified by aphæresis of the first ε. Instances of this are Θεοκλέος for Θεοκλέεος (*i.e.* Θεοκλέεος) COLL. 126, 1; Τιμοκλέος 35 (*cf.* Arcadian Ξενοκλέος for Ξενοκλέεος, COLL. 1246, B, 12; Χαρικλέος 1246, B, 4); σπέος, gen. sing. for \*σπέεος (*i.e.* \*σπέ-εσ-ος) 31, 2; 32, 2. Deecke reads σπέως here, assuming contraction of εο to ω, but εο does not elsewhere contract to ω in Cyprian (*cf.* Θεοκλέος, Τιμοκλέος; Στασικράτεος COLL. 18, 2, *etc.*), nor in the closely related Arcadian (see above). Hence the Cyprian form must be σπέος, even though the genitive thereby becomes identical with the nominative.

The Cyprian accordingly bears out the general principle assumed by Spitzer (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 37), *viz.* that when of three successive vowels the last two are incapable of contraction, in the particular dialect where they occur, the first of the three disappears.

In the same connection Spitzer formulates another general principle intended to apply to all Greek dialects. It is this: When of three successive vowels the two latter are capable of contraction, they contract and no further contraction with the first vowel takes place. This principle I believe to be unsafe and to be contradicted by an undoubted illustration taken from the Arcadian itself, *viz.* δαμιοργός. This is generally incorrectly referred to a form δαμιοεργός. But the second member of the compound as a *nomen agentis* demands the ablaut of the root, -φοργ-; *cf.* κλοπ-ός 'thief'; σκοπ-ός 'spy'; πομπ-ός 'attendant' *etc.* See Meyer *Gr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 9. The Homeric poems, it is true, exhibit δημοεργός τ 383 *et pass.*; but this is to be regarded as of secondary origin by the side of \*δαμιο-οργός. *Cf.* the similar relation existing between Att. πεντηκόντ-ορος 'fifty-oared galley' and Ionic πεντηκόντ-ερος, — root ἐρ- 'row'. So Attic inscriptions have τριακόντ-ερος by the side of the earlier τριακόντ-ορος. See



Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*<sup>1</sup>, p. 10; cf. Meyer *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> l.c.

No dialect has preserved any instance in inscriptions of the original formation. -ΟΡΓΟΣ in inscriptions written in the old alphabet, e.g. COLL. 1170, 2 (Elean); 1479, 15 (Locrian), if not actually for -οργός (as read by Bechtel in case of the latter inscription), may be taken as easily for the contraction of -οοργός as of -οεργός. So also Attic δημιουργός points no more clearly to -οεργός than -οοργός. The Messenian dialect has δαμιοργός Cauer *Delectus*,<sup>2</sup> 47, 119; so also the Achæan, CIG. 1542; Megarian, COLL. 3094, 19; Pamphylian, 1261, 3.

In all these cases δαμιοργός is to be derived from the primitive form \*δαμιο-οργός by aphæresis of the first ο. In other words, we have the same law here as in the Cyprian forms Θεοκλέος, Τιμοκλέος mentioned above. The facts I believe authorize us to assume at least for the Arcadian and Cyprian the following law: When of three successive vowels the first and second or the second and third are repetitions of the same sound, one of the repeated vowels disappears. This law also shows evidences of its operation even to a wider extent than these two dialects; e.g. Cretan Πριανσιές for -ιές CIG. 2556, 30; Ionic βορέω for βορέεω; so also the infinitives of contract verbs in -άω, -έω, -όω, \*τιμῶεν (whence τιμῶν) for \*τιμῶεν; \*φιλέεν (whence φιλεῖν) for \*φιλέεν; μισθόεν (whence μισθοῦν) for \*μισθόεν.

The above explanation of δαμιοργός not only starts from the form demanded by the signification of the compound but explains its further development by a principle simple and natural and abundantly illustrated in Arcadian, Cyprian, and elsewhere. Spitzer's explanation (after Ahrens, *De Græcæ Linguae Dialectis*, I., p. 234) refers the word to a primitive δαμιο-εργός, whence δαμιωργός by contraction; thence, by shortening of the ω, δαμιοργός. This shortening of a long vowel when followed by a liquid + consonant, though maintained by Brugmann (*Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, I., p. 463), does not seem as certain, by any means, as

the other instances of vowel-shortening adduced by Brugmann in the same connection, and is to be regarded as doubtful. Even if admitted for *στόρνυμι* (from \**στώρ-νυ-μι*) and *βόλλομαι*, i.e. \**βόλνομαι* (from \**βώλ-νομαι*), it is by no means certain that it operated subsequently to the disappearance of *ϕ*, as must be assumed for *δαμιο-(ϕ)εργός*.

Thessalian *λειτοργούντος* (i.e. -*ώντος*) *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, vii., 346, which is explained by Prellwitz (*De dialecto Thessalica*, p. 43) by the shortening of *ω* (for *οε*) to *ο*, is not certain and probably incorrect. Lolling, in publishing the inscription, says: "Da der stein hoch eingemauert, musste ich auf sicherstellung der zweifelhaft und undeutlich bleibenden stellen verzichten"; so that confirmation of the form is needed. If correct, *λειτοργούντος* might be referred to the influence of *δαμιοργούντος*.

8. *ε+η* remains unchanged in *Θητονίκω* COLL. 128.

9. *ε+ι* may be contracted in *φέτει* COLL. 60, 1; 59, 1; *ἔλει* 60, 9; *ἔτει* 76, 1, though the character of the Cyprian syllabary makes it impossible to determine whether the vowels were contracted or spoken separately.

10. *ε+ο* in the Bronze Tablet becomes *ω* in accordance with § 7, 1; *viz.* in *ἐπιό(ν)τα* (for *ἐπεό(ν)τα*) COLL. 60, 9, 19, 22; *ιό(ν)τα* 60, 23.

Elsewhere *εο* remains unchanged, *viz.* in *Θεοκλέος* COLL. 126, 1; *Ἑπεοδάμα* 135; *Θεοτίμων* 42; *Τιμοκλέφειος* 36; 64; *Τιμοκλέος* 35; *Στασικράτειος* 18, 2; *Στασικρέτειος* *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 68; *Τιμοκρέτειος* *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, ii.; viii.; *Φιλοκρέτειος* *ibid.*, vii.

One exception is found in a late inscription, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323, where *Νεομήνιος* becomes *Νωμήνιος*. The same inscription is characterized by the *ν*-movable, an evidence of the late period to which it belongs.

11. *ε+ω* changes to *ω* (in accordance with § 7, 1) in *ἴωσι*, (for *ἔωσι*, subjunctive) COLL. 60, 31. On Deecke's *φρονέωι* (i.e. *φρονέωσι*) 68, 4, see below, § 20, 2.

12. ι+ι in the Bronze Tablet does not contract, but becomes ιι (in accordance with § 18, 1, c), viz. in πτόλιι COLL. 60, 6.

Δι Berl. Phil. Woch., 1886, No. 41, ix. remains uncontracted after the disappearance of the *φ*. Elsewhere ι+ι contracts to ι, viz. in τ'Ωσίρι (for τῶ 'Οσίρι) COLL. 45; 'Οσίρι 72. Hall (*Four. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 216, 222) now reads τῶ 'Ονασίρι and 'Ονασίρι in these inscriptions, which however does not affect the question of contraction.

13. ο+ο contracts to ω, frequent in the gen. sing. of -ο- stems; e.g. ἀργύρω (for \*ἀργύροο) COLL. 60, 6; Τιμοδάμω 23, 3; τῶ 29; 31, *et pass*; κατεφόρκων (for \*κατεφόρκοον) 60, 1.

14. λῶε COLL. 111; Φαφέω 133; χῶον 88, 1; ὠτοδακῶν 103 are all too uncertain to be taken into consideration in this connection.

### 15.

#### *Compensative Lengthening.*

The extent to which this prevailed in Cyprian is uncertain, owing to the nature of the syllabary, which does not distinguish the long and short vowels.

The question of compensative lengthening presents itself chiefly in the development of the group -avs and -ovs, and here the problem is still further complicated by the fact that the nasal is regularly omitted in Cyprian before a consonant in the same word (see § 23, 1). Hence the syllables -a·se· can stand for -ās, -ās or even -avs. So also -o·se· may stand for -os, -ws or -ovs.

Under these circumstances it is perhaps simplest to follow the model of the closely related Arcadian and write ἀ(ν)θρώπος, acc. plu., COLL. 60, 3 (*cf.* Arcadian τὸς συνισταμένος, COLL. 1222, 51); so κάπος 60, 30; τές 60, 3, 10, 11, 23, 30; κασιγνήτος 60, 3, 11; ἰχμαμένος 60, 3; fut. ind. ἔξο(ν)σι 60, 31; ἴω(ν)σι 60, 31 (*cf.* Arcadian κρίνωνσι, παρετάξωνσι COLL. 1222, 5, 15); acc. plu. of -ā- stems, τᾶς 60, 28, 29; 71; τᾶσδε 60, 28, 29, 30; φρήτᾶς 60, 28, 29.

If διμώοις (for διμώσοις, see § 20, 2), Deecke's reading in COLL. 69, were certain and the inscription really a hexameter,

we should thereby be forced to admit that *o* by compensative lengthening produces *ω* in Cyprian, at least in this instance, since the metre requires a long syllable at that point in the verse. But Deecke's transcription of the inscription is unnatural and unsatisfactory, so that his text does not afford the basis for valid conclusions. See p. 3.

There is less doubt in case of the frequent *e·mi·*; e.g. COLL. I, I; 16, 20, *et pass.* This form, which might be taken for *ἐμμί* (cf. Lesbian *ἔμμι*, COLL. 307), in accordance with the Cyprian mode of writing doubled consonants singly (see § 24, 2), is shown to be *ἡμί* by the bilingual, COLL. 65, which, by the side of the Cyprian syllabic signs *ka·ru·xe· | e·mi·*, has KAPVE EMI. The possibility that this latter may be for *ἐμμί* is not absolutely excluded, since even inscriptions written in Greek characters, particularly in the Old Alphabet, sometimes have *μ*, *λ*, *ν*, *etc.* for *μμ*, *λλ*, *νν*.

Like *ἡμί* is *Ἀμηνία*, COLL. 60, 18. Cf. Attic *Ἀμεινίας*.

## 16.

### *Elision, Crasis, Aphæresis, Synizesis, Diæresis.*

1. Certain cases of elision are few; viz. *ἀφ' ὧι* COLL. 59, 3; *Κετίων κάτ' Ἡδάλιον* 59, 1; *περ' Ἡδάλιον* 60, 27; and probably *μ' ὠρίσεν* 126, 1.

The first of these *ἀφ' ὧι* is not to be regarded as for *ἀπὸ ὧι* (on *ἀπύ* as the Cyprian form of *ἀπό*, see § 9, 2), since the elision of *υ* is inadmissible. The oracle in Herod. vii., 220,

*ἡ μέγα ἄστυ ἐρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδῃσι,*

where the final *υ* of *ἄστυ* is elided according to Kühner (*Ausführliche Grammatik*, I., p. 189), cannot be cited in support of such elision, since the reading is justly suspected. Cf. Stein *ad loc.* *ἀφ' ὧι* is rather to be taken for *ἀπὸ ὧι* and referred for its origin to the period before final *o* in Cyprian became *υ*. Once formed, the phrase *ἀφ' ὧι* continued as a stereotyped expression even after *ἀπό* became *ἀπύ*.

The nature of the elided vowel in *Κετίων κάτ' Ἡδάλιον*

COLL. 59, 1, cannot be determined, as the origin of the word is uncertain. (See § 34, 2.)

περ' for περί in the third of the cases cited, περ' Ἡδάλιον is poetical; but the reading seems certain. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iii., 42; περ' ἀντᾶς; *Nem.* xi., 51 περόδοις. If with Allen (*On Greek Versification in Inscriptions*, p. 150) we take COLL. 71 as a metrical inscription (see Allen, p. 46), we shall then have elision of the final ε of ποτέ, although it is written in the text. This practice of writing the elided vowel is common even in inscriptions written in Greek characters. See examples collected by Allen, p. 127 ff.

ἀλ(λ)' ἔτυχ' ἁ κήρ COLL. 68, 3, and ποτ' ἐρείσης 68, 1, are omitted as too uncertain. See p. 2.

The character of the Cyprian syllabary did not admit of the expression of elision except in case of words so closely connected in sense as to be written as one, like α·φο·ι· = ἀφ' ὧι, etc. But most words were not so written. Inscriptions which show care even separate the words by a divisor. Thus words ending in -κε-, -δε-, -σε-, etc., would have to be written -kr·-te·, -se·, even if by elision the final ε disappeared, since the Cyprian had no way of expressing a final consonant without a following ε. Hence the expression of elision in case of words written separately like ὦδε ἔκερσε (ο·te· | ε·ke·re·se·); ποτε ἔφρεξα (φο·te· | ε·ve·re·xa·) was a practical impossibility.

So also in case of final -α. πᾶ(ν)τ' ἔχεν, for instance, could be written only πα·te· | ε·ke·ne·, which would give πᾶ(ν)τε ἔχεν.

This fact accounts perhaps for the apparent retention of final short vowels in cases where they might be expected to suffer elision.

2. Crasis is apparently certain in τᾶπί for τὰ ἐπί COLL. 37. In place of Deecke's τ'Ωσίρι (for τῶ Ὀσίρι) COLL. 45, 1, Hall (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 216) after a re-examination of the inscription in New York now reads τῶ Ὀνασίρι. Yet it is difficult to reconcile this reading with Hall's original facsimile (Plate viii., 34) as reproduced by Schmidt (*Sammlung Kyprischer Inschriften*, xx., 6).



Meister, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1885, No. 51, col. 1604, reads COLL. 103 as τῶτακῶ, *i.e.* τὸ ὠτακῶ "des Ohrenkranken," and 104 as τῶπῶτω, *i.e.* τὸ ἀπῶτω "des Tauben." Both these conjectures are extremely doubtful.

3. Aphæresis of ι is to be assumed in οἶ (ι) τῶ, *i.e.* οἶ ι(ι) τῶ COLL. 60, 31. Deecke also assumes aphæresis of α in θεῶι ἀλ(λ)'; but α is written, and the reading labors under too many difficulties to be accepted as correct. So Hall's τᾶ(ι)δε ι' Ἀπόλ(λ)ωνι (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 223) = COLL. 76, cannot be regarded as certain in view of Cesnola's plate (*Cyprus*, Plate II., 10).

Deecke's οὐ γάρ τι ἐπισταῖς COLL. 68 is best explained by aphæresis of ε (see Allen, *Versification in Greek Inscriptions*, p. 74) rather than by assuming a hiatus and shortening of the ι before στ, though the latter is proposed by Deecke (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 80).

4. Synizesis is maintained by Deecke for θεῶι COLL. 68, 4, and θεοῖς 68, 2, with reason, if these words really begin hexameters, which is not certain. Synizesis in χόον in COLL. 88 is uncertain.

5. Diæresis is claimed by Deecke, COLL. 68, 3, in ο' το', which he takes for οὐ. This seems hardly possible. Diæresis in such a word would be surprising under any circumstances. The parasitic Ϝ (see § 17, 2) is not elsewhere found after ο, and even if it were, we should expect the last syllable of the word to appear as υη; not as το'. The fact that no character has yet been found for υη cannot be held to support Deecke's view. If the sound had existed, the character for it would have existed also. On a similar view advanced by Deecke for Δαῖατίσας COLL. 58; Δαῖαφᾶς ὁ Ἀῖαρος 31, 1; 32, 1, see § 18, 2.

#### CONSONANTS.

##### 17.

##### Ϝ.

1. Initial Ϝ is regularly retained in Cyprian, always in the Bronze Tablet. The instances are Ϝάναξ COLL. 18, 1; 59, 2;

68, 1; abbreviated to *φα* · 154; *φανίσ(σ)ας* 38, 4; 39, 2; 40, 1; *φεικίονα* 76, 2; *φέπιја* (ἔπος) 60, 26; *φέτει* 59, 1; 60, 1; *φοί* (i.e. σφοῖ) 59, 3; 60, 29; *φοίκωι* 60, 6; *φοίνω* 73, 1; *φρίτας* (cf. *φρήτρα*) 60, 28, 29; *φανίσ(σ)ας* *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 315; 316.

The only exceptions are *ανίσ(σ)ας* COLL. 33, 1; *ἔτει* 76, 1; *ῥέζω* (doubtful) 150. The absence of initial *φ* in *ἔλει* COLL. 60, 9, furnishes clear evidence, in view of its retention elsewhere in the same inscription, that the word has no etymological connection with Lat. *vallis*, as still maintained by Curtius, *Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie*,<sup>5</sup> p. 360.

Medial *φ* is also regularly retained, always in the Bronze Tablet. The instances are: *αῖφεί* COLL. 60, 31; *ἄλφω* 60, 9, 18, 21 (cf. the Hesychian gloss *ἄλωνα · κῆποι*, *Κύπριοι*, where *ου* is used to represent the bilabial character of Cyprian *φ* (see § 13, 1); *βασιλιῆφος* 39, 1; 46; 47; 59, 1; 60, 6, 8, 17; 153; 154; 176; 177; 178; 179; *Διφείθεμις* 60, 21; *δοφέναι* 60, 5, 15; *ἔφρεξα* 71; *ἐφρητάσατν* 60, 14; *Ἑτεφά(ν)δρω* 46; 67; *εὐφερ-γεσίας* 71; *εὐφρητάσατν* 60, 4; *Ἡδαλιῆφες* 60, 2; *Θόρφο(ν)* 60, 19; *ιερῆφος* 1, 1; *κατεφόρκων* (cf. Hom. (φ)έρκος) 60, 1; *κενευφόν* (i.e. *κενεφόν*; see § 13, 1) 20, 2; *νεφοστάτας* 59, 2; *Νικοκλέφης* 40; *Νικοκλέφος* 179; *οἴφωι* 60, 14; *Ἵονασίφοικος* 27, 183; *Στασίφοικος* 193; 27; 183; *Τιμοφώρω* 143; *Τιμοκλέφους* 36; 64; *Ἀριστοφάναξ* *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, xii.; *Ἀριστοκλέφης* *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1884, No. 21; *Τιμοφάνακτος* *ibid.*; *Ἵονασιφοίκω* *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 52, col. 1644; *Νικοκλέφης* *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 315; p. 316; *ἔφεξε* (cf. Lat. *veho*) *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 67; *βίφα* (= *ζῶσα*; cf. *βί(φ)ος*, Lat. *vivus*) *Prellwitz's* reading of COLL. 134 (see *Bess. Beitr.*, ix., p. 172).

*Ἀριστοκόφων*, Deecke's reading in COLL. 45, 1, is not certain. Hall (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 216) after a fresh examination of the inscription in New York reads *Ἀριστόγων*; but this does not seem possible, judging from the copy of the inscription given by Schmidt (*Sammlung Kyprischer Inschriften*, xx., 6 a).

*διζάφω* COLL. 70 is extremely doubtful.

ἐφέισης 68, 1, has *f*, but the exact form of the word is uncertain; see § 12, 2.

εὐζαφεῖτε 56 is impossible as a Cyprian word; but the *F* is certain.

Γιλ(λ)ίκαφος COLL. 29; Γιλ(λ)ίκαφι *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, ii.; Σαμᾶφος *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 12, col. 380, are Phœnician names.

Ζόφης and Ἀχαιφός communicated by Sayce in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1884, No. 21, are doubtful, and need confirmation.

Exceptions to the retention of a primitive medial *f* are more frequent than in case of initial *f*. We find the following: βασιλῆος (cf. βασιλῆφος) COLL. 17, 1; 38, 1; 40, 2; 154, 155, a, b; 156; 193; Διός (cf. Διφείθεμις) 73, 1; Ἐτεοδάμα (cf. Ἐτερά(ν)δρω) 135; Θεοκλέος (cf. Νικοκλέφης) 126, 1; ἱερῆος (cf. ἱερῆφος) 38, 3; Τιμοκλέος 35; Διί *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, ix.; βασιλῆος *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 316; Nea-? 76. Νωμήμιος *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323, is a contracted form (see § 14, 10) for Νεομήμιος; cf. νεροστάτας COLL. 59, 2.

On Ἡδαλιῆι COLL. 60, 31 instead of Ἡδαλιῆφι, see § 18, 4.

Several inscriptions seem to belong to a transition period and exhibit some forms with *f* and some without; e.g. in COLL. 38 βασιλῆος, ἱερῆος, but φανάσ(σ)ας; in 39 Τιμοχάριφος, βασιλῆφος, φανάσ(σ)ας, but ἱερῆος; in 40 Νικοκλέφης, φανάσ(σ)ας, but βασιλῆος; identical with COLL. 40 is the inscription given by Deecke in *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 316.

2. In addition to the *f* above mentioned the Cyprian has developed a semi-vocalic *v* between *v* or *ev* and a following *a* or *e*, which it also expresses by *f*. The instances are: *δυφάνοι* (for δύ-ανοι, root *δυ-*; see § 9, 1) COLL. 60, 6; *Εὐφαγόρω* 153; 154; abbreviated *Εὐφαγό*· 155 b; 157; *Εὐφα*· 155 a; 156; 159; *Εὐφά(ν)θης* 163; *Εὐφά(ν)θεφος* 161; *Εὐφά(ν)θεος* 162; *Εὐφέλθων* 171, 172; *Εὐφέλθο(ν)τος* 165; 167; 168; 169; *κατεσκέυφασε* 31, 3. The preposition *ῥφαις*, 60, 10, 22, 28, is also probably to be explained in the same way; see under *Prepositions*, § 33, 5.

*εὐφεργεσίας*, which Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 157) refers to this



category, does not belong here, but the *F* is part of the root. (Cf. Cyprian ἔφρεξα COLL. 71.) βασιλεύφο(ν)τος, 59, 1, also mentioned by Meyer in the same connection, should be omitted. The syllabic text gives only ρα·σι·le·u·, i.e. βασιλευ-; -φο(ν)τος is conjectural.

The development of this parasitic *F* occurs regularly between every *υ* and a following *ε* or *α*. As an exception must be noted ὑευξάμενος (i.e. ἐπ-ευξάμενος; on ὑ-, see § 33, 4) COLL. 45, 2. Deecke's reading here has been questioned by Hall (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi, p. 216), who suggests that the sign for *υ* here is a mistake of the stone-cutter for *μι*; lacking simply the lower transverse stroke of the sign for that syllable. This *μι* he takes for *μι(ν)*, with omission of the final *ν* (see § 23, 2, 5), regarding it as the pronoun of the 1st person; see § 31, 2. But the omission of final *ν* before a vowel is inadmissible; see § 23, 4. Hence I believe Deecke's reading is to be sustained.

Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 239, suggests that νευξάμενος may be for φευξάμενος, comparing the Hesychian glosses νέσις (i.e. φέσις) · στολή; υῖλη (i.e. φύλη) · σκώληξ. But I see nothing to support this hypothesis, and should be inclined to attribute the glosses to a later stage of the dialect.

The above phenomenon of the development of a parasitic *F* is not confined to the Cyprian, but occurs also in other dialects; e.g. Bæotian Βακεύφαι COLL. 458; Coreyrcæan ἀριστεύφοντα Roehl, *Inscriptiones Græcæ Antiquissimæ*, 343.

3. The *F* of Τιμοχάρφος COLL. 39, 1; 193 and Κυπροκράτιφος 26 is difficult to explain. These words are both *-ι*-stems, and as such their genitives should be Τιμοχάριος, Κυπροκράτιος. That *F* cannot have developed regularly between *ι* and *ο* seems clear. Spitzer (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 51) suggests the following explanation. It is to be assumed that the intervocalic *F* in Cyprian gradually lost its sound and disappeared as in other Greek dialects. Evidences of this have been given above in such forms as βασιλῆος ἱερῆος, as against the earlier βασιλῆφος, ἱερῆφος, etc. That the forms without *F* are in general the younger there can be no reason to doubt.

Spitzer assumes that the spelling with *F* was retained in these and similar words, as an archaism, even after the *h* had lost its sound. Cf. in Latin the retention of *C* as *G* in *Cajus*, *Cnaeus*, long after *C* had assumed the sound of *K*. So in Cyprian he believes that *βασιλῆφος* etc. continued to be written, even after *βασιλῆος* began to be spoken, and that after this analogy *Τιμοχάριφος* and *Κυπροκράτιφος* arose, though *Τιμοχάριος* and *Κυπροκράτιος* were spoken, the *F* being superfluous.

This view of Spitzer has much to commend it, especially the fact that one of the inscriptions in which *Τιμοχάριφος* occurs (COLL. 39) belongs clearly to the transition period when *f* was beginning to disappear (at least in the vicinity of Paphos), as is evinced by the form *ἱερῆος* beside *φανύσ(σ)ας* and *βασιλῆφος*. Cf. also COLL. 38 and 40. This period of uncertainty in the employment of *f* would furnish just the conditions for the rise of forms like *Κυπροκράτιφος* and *Τιμοχάριφος*.

*Πρώτιφος* Berl. Phil. Woch., 1887, No. 12, col. 379, if correct, is to be explained in the same way. So also the second *f* of *Εὐφά(ν)θεφος* (for *Εὐφά(ν)θεος*, nom. *Εὐφά(ν)θης*) COLL. 161, were the reading at all certain.

## 18.

### *j*.

1. Between *ι* and *α* following *α*, *ε* or *ι*, a semi-vocalic *ι* has frequently been developed, which is generally written *j*. This is often called the parasitic *j*. The instances are the following: —

a) *j* between *ι* and *α*.

*Ἄλα(μ)πριῖάται* COLL. 60, 8; *Ἀμηνῖα* 60, 18; *ἀ(ν)δριῖά(ν)ταν* (cf. Att. *ἀνδριάς*) 59, 2; *ἀνοσίῖα* 60, 29; *Ἀριστίῖαν* 20, 1; *ἀτελίῖα* (Ion. *ἀτελέα*) 60, 23; *Διῖαίθεμι* 74, 1; *φέπιῖα* (Ion. *φέπεα*) 60, 26; *ἱερίῖῖαν* 60, 20; *ἰῖᾱσθαι* 60, 3; *ἰῖατήραν* 60, 3; *Μαλανῖαι* 60, 17; *Μιλκιῖάθωνος* 59, 1; *Παφῖας* 15, 1; *Παφῖῖα(ν)* 69; *πεδίῖαι* 60, 18; *Στασίῖας* 18; *Στασίῖαν* 17, 1;

τέρχυνῖα 60, 9, 18, 22; κατέθυαν 60, 27; Ἀριστίῃα *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 52, xx.

It will be seen by the above examples that this change took place as well after the ι which developed from an original ε (see § 7, 1) as after primitive ι; cf. *φέπιῃα, τέρχυνῖα, etc.*

In the Bronze Tablet this *j* has developed without exception between every ι and α. Elsewhere we find exceptions. Thus Παφίας COLL. 1, 1; 2, 1; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; Παφίαι 1, 3 (cf. Παφίῃα(ν) 69; Παφίῃας 15, 1); Γολγίαι 61; Διάθεμι(ς) (cf. Διάίθεμι(ς) 74, 1) 100; ἄ(ν)δριάς *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 12, col. 380; ἄ(ν)δριά(ν)ταν *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323.

b) *j* between ι and ε.

ἱερεὺς COLL. 40, 1; ἱερός 33, 1; ἱερῆος 39, 3; ἱερεὺς *Bezz. Beitr.*, xi., p. 316.

This change does not hold for the Bronze Tablet, viz. in *ιερήῃαν* 60, 20. Other exceptions are *ιερῆος* 1, 2; *ιερῆος* 38, 3; *Κυριεύς* 193; *ιερῆος* *Bezz. Beitr.*, xi., p. 315.

*j* does not develop between ι and η. Thus we have Ἡδαλιήφες COLL. 60, 2; Ἡδαλιήῃι 60, 31; *Κετιήφες* 60, 1, where we might have expected *Κετιῃῃη*, Ἡδαλιῃῃη. Deceke writes these words Ἡδαλιέφες, Ἡδαλιέῃι, *Κετιέφες*. With that reading we should simply have additional illustrations of the absence of *j* between ι and ε in the Bronze Tablet.

c) *j* between ι and υ.

The only example is *πτόλιῃι* COLL. 60, 6. On the other hand *Δύ* *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, ix.

The Pamphylian exhibits precisely the same development of a parasitic semi-vowel between ι and a following vowel. This it writes (with Greek letters) as ι; e.g. *φέπιῃα* (i.e. *φέπιῃα*, Ion. ἔτεα) COLL. 1267, 5; *διζά* *ibid.*; *ἱζαροῖσι*, Ἐσπρέ(ν)δινς (= Ἀσπένδιος) 1259.

Between ι and ο, or ι and ω, *j* never develops in Cyprian; e.g. *Διός* COLL. 73, 1; Ἀφροδισίω 86, 4; ἰωσι 60, 31. The assumption therefore of Spitzer (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 51) of the forms *Τιμοχάρῃος* 39, 1; *φρονήῃω* 68, 4, is without foundation; and Meister's conjecture of *μνάῃον* as new reading

of COLL. 41, 3 (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 52, col. 1644) is very improbable.

2. Besides this parasitic *j* we also find *j* in the proper names *Δαγιατίσαο* COLL. 58, which Deecke suggests may be for *Δαϊτίσαο*. But this is purely conjectural. *Δαΐαφᾶς* and *Ἀγαρος* COLL. 31, 1; 32, 1, which Deecke previously took in the same way, are now read by him *Bezz. Beitr.*, xi., p. 319, as *Τάρβας* and *ἄρχος*.

3. Deecke's reading *ιερέϊ'ϊαν* in COLL. 60, 20 makes difficulty by the presence of the first *j*. This might possibly be taken as indicating merely that the *ε* and *ι* were spoken separately, *i.e.* as *εῖ*. But *ει* elsewhere in the same inscription is not so written, *viz.* in *ἔλει*, line 9; *φέτει*, line 1; and it seems to me better on the whole to write *ιερή'ϊαν* and to consider the *η* as developed from *ε*, just as in case of the Doric adjectives in *-ηιος* for *-εῖος* (see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 67); *e.g.* Cretan *πρυτανήιον* CIG. 2554, 51; Delphian *ιαρήια* CIG. 1688, 14; and the Ionic substantives *ἄληθητή*, *μαντητή*. Cf. also Boeotian *μαντεία* (*i.e.* *μαντηία*) COLL. 494, 2.

Cyprian *ιερή'ϊαν* is identical with these formations except that it retains the *j*, which in the other dialects disappears in the preceding *η*; or, we may assume that a new *j* has developed between *η* and following *ι*.

4. *Ἡδαλιῆ'ι* (Deecke writes *-έ'ι*) COLL. 60, 31 is still more perplexing. We should have expected here *Ἡδαλιῆ'φι*, dat. sing. of *Ἡδαλιεύς*; cf. *Ἡδαλιῆ'φες* COLL. 60, 2; *Κετιῆ'φες* 60, 1. The form *Ἡδαλιῆ'ι* cannot be derived from *Ἡδαλιῆ'φι* by any phonetic process, nor can I see any plausible explanation of its origin by association or analogy.

5. Change from *ι* to *j* before a vowel has been assumed by Deecke in case of the diphthongs *ει*, *οι*, *υι* in *όσέ'ια* for *όσει'α* (*i.e.* *όσι'αῖ*) COLL. 41, 3; *δο'ᾶι* (for *δοι'αῖ*) 41, 3; *φύ'η* (for *φύι'η*) 126, 3. The two former of these examples are no longer maintained by Deecke (see *Bezz. Beitr.*, xi., p. 317), and the last one, *φύ'η*, is not by any means certain in its reading.

I believe therefore that we are not as yet justified in claim-

ing this change of *i* to *j* for the Cyprian. Yet the change is probable enough in itself and must have occurred in other dialects as preliminary to such forms as Arcadian ποέντω (for ποῖέντω, *i.e.* ποιέντω), COLL. 1222, 9; Lesbian δικάως (for δικαίως, *i.e.* δικαίως) 304, A, 44.

6. On *japá* for *iapá*, *i.e.* *iérá*, see § 1, 2.

## 19.

### ζ.

In Cyprian, ζ corresponds not only to ζ of the other dialects, *viz.* in ζᾶν (*cf.* Att. ζῶω) COLL. 60, 10, 23, 28; ῥέζω (?) 150, but also sometimes to γ of the other dialects, *viz.* in ζᾶ (= γᾶ) 'earth,' COLL. 60, 8, 17, 24 and ἄζαθός (= ἀγαθός) 37, 3; 59, 4.

These two latter forms probably developed a parasitic ζ after the original γ, and this γζ then regularly became ζ. This change has an analogon in the word ζεύσασθαι (for \*γμεύσασθαι) given by Hesychius as dialectic form of γεύσασθαι. *Cf.* the Arcadian ζέλλειν (for \*γζέλλειν) · βάλλειν, Hesych.

## 20.

### σ

1. Final σ disappears in a few instances, *viz.* Ὀνασίωρο Ἄ... (for Ὀνασίωρος Ἄ...) COLL. 75, 1; Διζαίθεμι τῶι (for Διζαίθεμις τῶι) 74, 1; Διάθεμι(ς) φα... 100; κα(ς) ('and') ἀ(ν)τί 60, 5; κά(ς) μεν 71, 1; τᾶ(ς) φανάσ(σ)ας 38, 4; τᾶ(ς) ὑγήρων 60, 5 (twice); Γιλ(λ)ίκα(ς) Ὀνασιμάλα 120, 1; in composition πο-εχόμενον (for ποσ-εχόμενον, *i.e.* προσεχόμενον) 60, 19, 21; Εὐφά(ν)θη(ς) 163; Ἄν(ν)α(ς) Ἀμό(ν)τα 147; Γιλ(λ)ίκα(ς) με *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 68; ὁ ἐξ ὀρύξη COLL. 60, 12, 25 may be either for ὁς ἐξ ὀρύξη (with omitted -ς) or ὁ may be the article used as relative.

The above data do not warrant us in drawing any positive conclusion as to the law of this change. Omitting ὁ ἐξ ὀρύξη as capable of other interpretation, the remaining twelve instances present six cases of the disappearance of -ς before



vowels, five before consonants, and one where no other sound follows. We can hardly infer from this that the disappearance of -s took place through the medium of its change to the rough breathing, since in that event we should expect it to be confined to those cases where the following word had an initial vowel. Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 305) in judging of the Bœotian proper names in -ει for -εις assumes that the peculiarity originated before initial vowels, and was subsequently extended in its use. The same may be true for the Cyprian. But since this peculiarity is confined almost exclusively to proper names and in them is found in the whole field of Greek inscriptions, it may be better to assume a weak pronunciation of final -s in this class of words. This, however, would leave Cyprian τᾱ, κᾱ, and πο- unexplained. It should be noted that, while κᾱ and τᾱ (for κᾱς and τᾱς) are found in the above-mentioned instances, the full forms κᾱς and τᾱς are frequent, e.g. τᾱς ἀνάσ(σ)ας COLL. 33, 1; τᾱς εὐχολᾱς 59, 3; κᾱς ἐξ 60, 6. τᾱ Ἑτεοδάμα· πῖθι COLL. 135, which Deecke (*ad loc.*) suggests may be for either τᾱς Ἑτεοδάμας or τᾱι Ἑτεοδάμα, is better taken with Dittenberger as τᾱ, Ἑτεοδάμα, πῖθι, in which τᾱ is the regular Cyprian form of the Homeric τῆ 'take,' and Ἑτεοδάμα is vocative. Cf. ι 347 Κύκλωψ, τῆ, πῖε οἶνον. This would add another illustration of the influence (already beyond question) of the Homeric diction upon the Cyprian vocabulary. Cf. Deecke-Siegismund in Curtius' *Studien*, vii., p. 262; Smyth, *On Poetical Words in Cyprian Prose*, *Am. Jour. Phil.*, viii., 4.

εὐχολᾱ COLL. 27, 2, which might also possibly be taken for a genitive or dative (see § 25, 5), is, I believe, best taken as a nominative. Cf. ἀρὰ Ἀνάω COLL. 97; ἀρὰ Διί *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, ix.

Deecke's κᾱ πότι COLL. 68, 1; [κᾱ] θνατοῖς 68, 2; and σῖς (for τῖς) 126, 1, are doubtful.

2. Deecke (*Bess. Beitr.*, vi., p. 81; p. 147) seeks to establish the loss of intervocalic σ, or at least its change to the rough breathing in two instances, viz. φρονέωι (for φρονέωσι) COLL. 68, 4 and διμώοις (for \*διμώσοις, i.e. \*διμόντιοις) 69.



This change is well assured for other dialects, *e.g.* Laconian ἐνήβωαῖς for ἐνήβώσαις Caer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 17, 15; Ἀγηῖστρατος for Ἀγησίστρατος 22, 8. The Hesychian glosses καῖνῖτα, *i.e.* κασιγνήτη; σαῖμα, *i.e.* σησάμη; ἵμαον· πάταξον, and others, given as Cyprian, also point to the change in question, at least for some period of the Cyprian dialect. But the reading in the two instances claimed by Deecke cannot be regarded as certain, especially in view of the numerous difficulties of the context; see pp. 2, 3. Moreover, the prevailing usage of the dialect in all other cases is to retain the σ arising secondarily by assibilation of τ, such as we have in φρονέωσι and διμώσοις, *e.g.* ἔξβασις 31, 2; ἔξο(ν)σι 60, 31 (the (ν) not absolutely certain). *Cf.* also κασίγνητος 60, 14; βασιλεύς 17, 1.

It is, therefore, impossible from existing inscriptions to admit the existence of any such change of σ to the spiritus, as is insisted upon by Deecke. The glosses given by Hesychius are doubtless to be referred to a much later period than that to which our inscriptions belong. *Cf.* the parallel case of the Laconian glosses exhibiting rhotacism cited by Hesychius, βουαγὸρ (*i.e.* βουαγός), γῶνορ (*i.e.* γῶνος). Yet this change is not attested by a single pre-Christian inscription. See Müllensiefen, *De Titulorum Laconicorum Dialecto*, p. 54 f.

3. Meister in the *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1885, No. 51, col. 1604 (*cf.* Baunack, *Die Inschrift von Gortyn*, p. 23), seeks by circuitous combinations to explain another word on the above principle of \* for σ, *viz.* ποί in ποῖ τῶτακῶ, *von dem Ohrenkranken*, his proposed reading of COLL. 103. This preposition ποί he explains as follows. From primitive Greek ποτί arose in the Arcado-Cyprian dialect \*ποσί by assibilation. Before vowels this appeared as πός, *e.g.* Arcadian πόσοδος COLL. 1222, 9. After the separation of the Arcadian and Cyprian, πός in Arcadian excluded its sister form \*ποσί, and we accordingly find πός alone; *e.g.* πὸς τᾷ 1222, 54; ποσκατυβλάφη 1222, 38. But ποσί and πός were both retained in Cyprian. The latter occurs in πὸς Θόρφο(ν) COLL. 60, 19; πὸς τάν 60, 19; πὸς Πασαγόραν 60, 21; \*ποσί,

however, first lost its intervocalic  $\sigma$  (for which Meister compares  $\phi\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\acute{\iota}$  already discussed above), becoming  $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}$  and then  $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}$ . It is this latter form which Meister reads in  $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\kappa\acute{\omega}$  COLL. 103. This  $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}$ , he considers, became still further reduced to  $\pi\omicron$ - in  $\pi\omicron$ - $\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  for  $\pi\omicron\iota$ - $\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  COLL. 60, 19 (cf. Arcadian  $\pi\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega$  for  $\pi\omicron\iota$ - $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omega$ ). This would remove the necessity of assuming loss of  $\sigma$  in this word, as explained above, 1.

Against this view of Meister's is to be urged

1) Assimilation of  $\tau$  in case of  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ , though naturally to be expected, is not attested by any Greek dialect. We find  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$  in Homer; \* $\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}$  is unknown.

2) If the form \* $\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}$  had originated from  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$  we should expect it to remain \* $\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}$ , since the  $\sigma$  arising in this way is not wont to disappear. Cf.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$  (primitive form  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ ),  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$  (from \* $\phi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma$ ).

3) The example, which Meister cites to illustrate the disappearance of  $\sigma$  arising from  $\tau$  before  $\iota$ , viz.  $\phi\rho\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\acute{\iota}$ , we have already seen above (2) is quite doubtful and opposed to the clear laws of the dialect. Argive  $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}$ , which Meister cites (relying evidently upon Cauer, *Delectus*<sup>2</sup>, 62, 9 and Etym. Mag. 678, 44) is not sufficiently assured. Locrian  $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , which Bechtel defends in COLL. 1479, 14, is taken by Allen (*De dialecto Locrensi*, p. 67 = *Studien*, iii, p. 271) and Roehl, *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*, 322, b, 5, as a mistake of the stone-cutter for  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , in which  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau$  is by apocope for  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ . Cf. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 299, note. Allen compares Locrian  $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron$ , which he takes for  $\kappa\alpha\tau$   $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ , COLL. 1478, 46.

4) As to the origin of  $\pi\omicron\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  from  $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$  by the disappearance of the  $\iota$  (through the medium of  $\iota$ ), such a change should be accepted cautiously, even were the existence of  $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}$  proven. We have no instances of the Cyprian treatment of the  $\iota$  ( $j$ ) developing from the second part of diphthongs ( $\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\omicron\iota$ ,  $\upsilon\iota$ ) unless perchance  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\eta$  COLL. 126, 3 be such an instance. That certainly would not make for Meister's view, but would lead us rather to expect  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\iota\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ .

## 21.

π.

Indogermanic  $q^1$  apparently develops irregularly as π (instead of τ) before ε and ι in several words:—

1. *πέσει* (Idg. root *qei-*), COLL. 60, 12, 25, corresponds to Attic *τείσει* (on this and not *τίσει* as the correct form, see above, § 12, *ad in.*), fut. ind. 'shall pay.' Attic *τείσει* represents the regular development of *q*. Cyprian *πέσει* has undoubtedly borrowed its π from other formations of the same root, where π was phonetically justified, *c.g.* \**πέ-ποι-α* (perfect), *ποινή* 'pay.' Cf. Thessalian *ἀππεισάτου* (*i.e.* *ἀπο-τεισάτω*) COLL. 1332, 28, where the same irregularity occurs.

2. *πεφάμερων*, COLL. 59, 2, *i.e.* *πε(μ)φάμερων* (see § 23, 1, 2) gen. sing. of *πε(μ)φ-άμερον*, 'five days' period' (*cf.* Att. *πενθήμερον*) points to *πέμπε* (Idg. *penqe*) as the form of the numeral for 'five' in Cyprian as well as in Lesbian. Here also the π (for τ) owes its origin to the influence of other primitive formations from the stem *penq-*, *c.g.* *πεμπάς*, where the π before α was regular.

3. In *ὅπισις* (= *ὄστις*; see § 22, 2) *ὄπι-* is an adverbial formation from the pronominal root *qi-*, which like *πέσει* (see above, 1), ought regularly to appear as -τι-. The π is to be explained as borrowed from forms such as *ὅπως*, *ὀπότερος* *etc.*, where π for Indogermanic *q* before ο and ω is regular.

## 22.

### *Assibilation of τ before ι.*

1. This occurs as in Attic in the verbal ending -(ν)σι (see above) for -ντι, and elsewhere. The examples are *ἔξο(ν)σι* for *ἔξουντι* (Att. *ἔξουσι*) COLL. 60, 31; *ἰω(ν)σι* 60, 31; *ἔξβασις* (Att. *ἔκβασις*; see § 24, 1) 31, 2; 32, 1; *πόσις* 26, 2.

*ἔτι* 73, 1 and *ἀ(ν)τί* 60, 5, *et pass.* retain the τ as in all dialects.

<sup>1</sup> Following Brugmann's use of this character in his *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*.

*κάτι* has been assumed by Deecke, as the full form of the elided *κάτ'* 'and' in *κάτ' Ἡδαλίων* COLL. 59, 1. If this is correct, the form would belong with *ἔτι* and *ἀ(ν)τί*. At all events we are not justified in assuming that the form *κάς* 'and' originated from *κάτι* by the latter's becoming \**κάσι*, whence (before vowels) *κάς*.

So also *πός* COLL. 60, 19, 20, 21 is not to be explained as the ante-vocalic form of \**ποσί* (for *ποτί*), since *ποτί* so far as known never assibilates its *τ*. The *ς* of *πός* must be explained in some other way; see § 33, 3. *ποτ'*, which Deecke reads in COLL. 68, 1, by elision for *ποτί*, is perfectly consistent with the existence of *πός* in Cyprian (see § 33, 3), but the context is so doubtful that small probability attaches to this form.

2. The indefinite *σὶς* (for *τίς*) occurs COLL. 60, 10, 23; and *ὅπισις* 60, 29. This is irregular, since initial *τ* before *ι* is not assibilated; yet the form is certain. Possibly, *τίς* as an enclitic, was so closely connected with the preceding word as to be felt as a part of it. In this way the *τ* became intervocalic and so changed to *σ*. This is the explanation of Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 299, and in support of it may be cited Att. *ἄττα*, which developed from the primitive nom. pl. neuter of *τίς*, *νῖς*. *τῖά*, in such phrases as *χρήματά τῖα*. The two words in such instances were so closely connected as to be treated like one. Hence *χρήματά τῖα* became regularly *χρήματάττα*. This was felt as *χρήματ' ἄττα*, so that *ἄττα* arose as an independent word. The only objection that can be urged against this explanation of *σὶς* is that Hesychius gives us *σί* as an interrogative pronoun in the gloss *σί βόλε· τί θέλεις. Κύπριοι*.

Deecke's *τὶ* in COLL. 68, 3, is to be rejected. The reading is uncertain, and the form highly improbable by the side of *σὶς*.

3. Deecke reads *πότι* COLL. 68, 3, as vocative of *πότις*, 'lord.' The word occurs, however, in 26 as *πόσις*, with regular assibilation of the *τ*. The fact that we always find *πόσις* in other dialects would certainly tend under any cir-

cumstances to discredit *πότις* in Cyprian, especially as *τ* in this dialect regularly suffers assibilation; but the assumption that *πότις* existed beside *πόσις* in the same dialect is entirely untenable. Another fact which makes against Deecke's reading is that the word never has the sense of 'lord' in Greek, a sense which he attaches to it in the present instance.

## 23.

### *Loss of Nasals.*

1. Before a consonant in the same word the nasals *ν, μ, γ* were always dropped. This is generally indicated by putting the omitted nasal in parenthesis. The instances are the following:—

1) Omission of *ν*.

*ἀ(ν)δριῶ(ν)ταν* (Att. *ἀνδριάντα*) COLL. 59, 2; *ἀ(ν)θρώπος* 60, 3; *ἀ(ν)τί* 60, 5, 15, 17; *Ἀμό(ν)τα* (?) 147; *Λ(ν)τίφamos* 83; *Ἀριστόφα(ν)τος* 28; *ἐπιό(ν)τα* 60, 9, 19, 22; *Ἐτεφά(ν)δρω* 46; 47; *Εἰφά(ν)θη* 163; *Εὐφά(ν)θεφος* 161; 162; *Εὐφέλθο(ν)τος* 165; 167; 168; 169; *ἰό(ν)τα* 60, 23; *Ὀνάσα(ν)τος* 30; *πά(ν)τα* 60, 10, 19, 22; 68, 4; *ταλά(ν)των* 60, 7; *τά(ν)δε* 60, 26; 76, 2; 88, 1; *τό(ν)δε* 59, 2; 60, 13, 25; 72, 1; *Φα(ν)τασίω* 81; *ἀ(ν)δριά(ν)ταν* *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323; *ἀ(ν)δριῶς* *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 12, col. 380.

2) Omission of *μ*.

*πε(μ)φαμέρων* COLL. 59, 2; *Ἀλα(μ)πριῶται* (*cf.* the present "Alambra, twenty minutes' ride west of Dali," *Cesnola, Cyprus*, p. 87). Meister's conjecture of *ὀ(μ)βά[ντι]* in his new reading of COLL. 41 (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 52, col. 1644) is quite uncertain.

3) Omission of *γ*.

Probable in *Ὀ(γ)κα(ν)τος* COLL. 60, 9; *Πα(γ)κρα-* 62, 2.

In Pamphylian inscriptions *ν* disappears similarly before *τ* or *δ* in the same word; *τ* under such circumstances changes to *δ*, *c.g.* *πεδεκαῖδεκα* (*i.e.* *πεντεκαῖδεκα*) COLL. 1267, 5; *ἐξάγωνδι* (*i.e.* *ἐξάγωντι*) 1267, 16, 20; *γένωδαι* 1267, 20; *Ἐστφῆδμvs* (*Ἀσπένδιος*) 1259.

2. Certain short words ending in a nasal, and closely connected in thought with the following word, omit the nasal, as in the interior of a word. These words are the forms of the article *τόν, τάν, τῶν*; the preposition *ἰν*; and the pronoun *μιν* (= *μεν, i.e. με*; see § 31, 1). The instances are

1) *τόν*:

*τὸ(ν) χῶρον* COLL. 60, 18; *τὸ(ν) χραυόμενον* 60, 9; *τὸ(ν) χραυζόμενον* 60, 18; *τὸ(ν) ποεχόμενον* 60, 19, 21; *τὸ(ν) Δρυμίων* 60, 19; *τὸ(ν) κᾶπον* 60, 20; as relative in *τὸ(ν) Διφείθεμις* 60, 21; *τὸ(ν) δόμε(ν)* 126, 2 is improbable; see § 31, 4;

2) *τάν*:

*τὰ(ν) πτόλιν* 60, 1; *τὰ(ν) δάλτον* 60, 26; *τὰ(ν) θιόν* 60, 27; *τὰ(ν) δίφατο(ν)* 69; *τὰ(ν) φεικόνα* 76, 2;

3) *τῶν*:

*τῶ(ν) παίδων* 60, 11, 30; *τῶ(ν) κασιγνήτων* 60, 14;

4) *ἰν*:

*ἰ(ν) τύχαι* 17, 2; 27, 2; 28; 31, 4; 37, 3; 59, 4; 72, 2; *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323; 1887, No. 12, col. 380; *ἰ(ν) τῶι* COLL. 60, 1, 3, 8, 9; *ἰ(ν) τᾶι* 60, 8; *ἰ(ν) Μαλανίαι* 60, 17; *ἰ(ν) Σίμ(μ)ιδος* 60, 20; *οἷ (ν) τῶ* (with aphæresis of the *ι*; see § 16, 3) 60, 31;

5) *μιν*:

*μῖ(ν) κατέθηκε* 1, 2; 2, 2; probably also in *σὺ(ν) τύχα* 120, 4.

The above words always lose the *ν* before a consonant, without exception. The forms *τόν, τάν, etc.*, occur only before vowels.

The omission of *ν* has also been claimed by Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 113, note) for *ἦν* (*i.e. ἐάν*). Meyer would read *ἦ(ν) κε* in COLL. 60, 10, 23. But the existence of *ἦν* has already been shown to be improbable (see § 14, 6), and Deecke's reading *ῆ* (= *εἶ*) is sufficiently justified by the occurrence of *ῆ* in Cretan.

3. Loss of final *ν* before an initial consonant in other cases than those above mentioned is to be accepted with caution. *Θόρφο(ν) τόν* COLL. 60, 19 and *ἄλφο(ν) τόν* 60, 21 seem certain. But other instances given by Deecke are doubtful,



*viz.*  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta(\nu)$   $\tau\acute{o}(\nu)\delta\epsilon$  COLL. 41, 2, which he no longer maintains (see p. 3), and  $\tau\acute{\alpha}(\nu)$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\alpha\tau\omicron(\nu)$   $\delta\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\omicron(\nu)$   $\Pi\alpha\phi\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha(\nu)$   $\gamma\epsilon$  COLL. 69. This latter instance might possibly seem worthy of acceptance did we thereby gain a reading which commended itself in other respects, which is not the case. The individual words of the passage are several of them strange, and the sense which Deecke attaches to them (*Bessz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 146 f.) is forced and unnatural. Equally improbable is Hall's  $\acute{\alpha}(\nu)$ - $\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega(\nu)$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\iota$  (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 220), which he reads in place of Deecke's  $\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\iota$  COLL. 68, 3.

4. In COLL. 126, 2, Deecke would even maintain the disappearance of final  $\nu$  before a vowel in  $\delta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon(\nu)$   $\Lambda\delta\eta$ . This is also assumed by Hall (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 216) in his reading  $\mu\acute{\iota}(\nu)$   $\epsilon\nu\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  in place of Deecke's  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (*i.e.*  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\nu\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ; see § 17, 2) COLL. 45; further in  $\text{Κυνέμω}(\nu)$   $\acute{o}\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 226) COLL. 87;  $\Lambda\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\phi\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega(\nu)$   $\acute{o}$  (*ibid.*, p. 225) COLL. 83. But in none of these cases does any probability attach to the reading.

## 24.

### *Other Peculiarities.*

1. Triple consonance occurs in  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$  COLL. 32. So also the preposition  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$  is used invariably before initial consonants,  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$  60, 5, 11, 24;  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$  60, 6, 24.

2. Doubled consonants are regularly written singly, *viz.* in  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma(\sigma)\alpha\varsigma$  COLL. 33, 1;  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma(\sigma)\alpha\varsigma$  38, 4; 39, 2; 40;  $\Lambda\mu(\mu)\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  61;  $\Lambda\nu(\nu)\alpha\varsigma$  147;  $\Lambda\pi\acute{o}\lambda(\lambda)\omega\nu\iota$  31, 3; 32, 2; 59, 3; 72, 2; 74, 2; 75, 3; 77; 78; 120, 2;  $\Gamma\acute{\iota}\lambda(\lambda)\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha(\varsigma)$  120, 1;  $\Gamma\acute{\iota}\lambda(\lambda)\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$  29;  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\pi(\pi)\omicron\varsigma$  194;  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu(\mu)\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  (?) 60, 20;  $\mu\alpha\mu(\mu)\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho$  (?) 85;  $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma(\sigma)\alpha\varsigma$  *Bessz. Beitr.*, xi., p. 315; p. 316;  $\Gamma\acute{\iota}\lambda(\lambda)\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\phi\iota$  *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, ii.; doubtful is  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda(\lambda)'$  COLL. 68, 3;  $\text{Μα} \nu\alpha\sigma(\sigma)\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323.

Instead of  $\Lambda\pi\acute{o}\lambda(\lambda)\omega\nu\iota$  the principles of the Cyprian syllabary would admit  $\Lambda\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\iota$  (*cf.* Thessalian  $\Lambda\pi\lambda\omicron\nu\nu\iota$ , *i.e.*  $\Lambda\pi\lambda\omega\nu\iota$  COLL. 368; 372;  $\Lambda\pi\lambda\omicron\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma$  345, 22). On the other

hand Cyprian *ε·μι·* might possibly be taken for *ἐμ(μ)ι*, except for the evidence of KAPVΞ EMI the Greek text of the bilingual COLL. 65 (*cf.* § 16).

This practice of writing doubled consonants singly is not peculiar to the Cyprian, but is found more or less frequently in most archaic inscriptions of every dialect. *Cf.* Syracusan Ἀπέλωνι Roehl, *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*, 509; Megarian Ἀπόλωνι *ibid.*, 11; Pamphylian Ἀπέλωνα COLL. 1267, 30; τιμάρεσα 1267, 6 and the list given in Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 287.

3. N-movable is found in a few late inscriptions, *viz.* ἔδωκεν Ἀψάσωμος *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 12, col. 380; ἔδωκεν κάς and ὀνέθηκεν Μανασ(σ)ῆς *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323; in the two latter cases before an initial consonant.

4. The Cyprian syllabary has no character for the rough-breathing, which is generally supplied in accordance with the vulgar usage.

5. Initial πτ for π appears in πτόλις COLL. 60, 2, 4, 7, 15, 16, 27; πτόλιγι 60, 6; πτόλιν 60, 1, all doubtless to be referred to Homeric influence; see § 20, 1.

6. Primitive ρσ is retained in ἔκερσε COLL. 32, 2, in accordance with the regular law. *Cf.* on the other hand Arcadian φθέραι (*i.e.* φθήραι?) COLL. 1222, 8.

7. Hall's Σ(ζ)α (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi., p. 225) for Θιζά, *i.e.* θεά, his reading in COLL. 85, cannot be admitted. The change of θ to σ found in late Laconian (see Müllensiefen, *De Titulorum Laconicorum Dialecto*, p. 56) is not probable for Cyprian; and goddess in this dialect is expressed regularly by θεός (fem. as well as masc.), *e.g.* COLL. 60, 27.

8. κυμερῆναι, COLL. 68, 4, if correctly taken as a collateral form of \*κυβερνήναι, represents the same change of β to μ as that seen in κυμερνήτης for κυβερνήτης, *Etymologicum Magnum*, 543, 2, where it is referred to the Αἰολεῖς. Further concerning the form, see § 32, 12.

INFLECTIONS.

DECLENSION.

25.

Stems in -ā.

1. On the gen. sing. in -av and -ao of proper names in -as, see above, § 14, 4.

2. Feminine -a- stems have everywhere -ās in the gen. sing., *e.g.* Ἀθάνας COLL. 60, 20; ἀνάσ(σ)ας 33, 1; εὐχολᾶς 59, 3; φανάσ(σ)ας 38, 4; 39, 2; 40, 1; Ὀνασικύπρας 34, 1; τᾶς 1. 1 *et pass.*; Τιμοκύπρας 23, 1; Φιλοκύπρας 22, 1; Ἀριστοκύπρας *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, vi. No trace is anywhere found of a fem. gen. in -av such as occurs in Arcadian (*e.g.* οἰκίαν COLL. 1233, 3; ζαμίαν 1222, 12, 25), where it is borrowed from the masculine. On the occasional omission of -s in the gen. sing., see § 20, 1.

3. A peculiar gen. sing. of masc. -ā- stems is found in Ἀμηνίᾱ COLL. 60, 18; Ὀνασιμάλᾱ 120, 1; Ἀριστίᾱ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 52, xx. The formation can hardly be Cyprian. It is possibly the result of Doric influence; *cf.* Cretan δικαστᾶ (for -ᾶο), *Inscription of Gortyna*, v. 35. This explanation at all events seems preferable to that of Deecke, who believes that Cyprian -āo could sometimes lose its -o and appear as -ā.

4. Εὐφαγόρω (*cf.* on the other hand Ὀνασαγόραν COLL. 60, 1, 22) COLL. 153, 154, is referred by Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 345, to the influence of the Ionic dialect, but such Ionic gens. as Λαμψαγόρεω (Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1884, p. 86) certainly do not speak for an Ionic Εὐφαγόρω, although -ᾶ (by contraction for -ᾶω) does sometimes occur in Ionic, *e.g.* Ἀννικῶ for Ἀννικέω *Rochl. Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*, 381, c, 11.

Ἀμύ(ν)τω COLL. 41, which Meyer also explains in the same manner, is no longer maintained as a reading by Deecke; see p. 3.

5. The dat. sing. ends sometimes in  $-\tilde{\alpha}$  (*i.e.*  $\alpha$ ); sometimes in  $-\tilde{\alpha}$ . On the relation of these two endings to each other, see above, § 13, 3, a. The instances (with the immediate context) are as follows:  $\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  'Αθάνα  $\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  COLL. 62;  $\acute{\upsilon}$  τύχα 74, 3;  $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}(\nu)$  τύχα 120, 4;  $\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  'Αθάναι 17, 2;  $\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  βασιλῆφος  $\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  60, 8, 17;  $\tau\tilde{\alpha}$  Παφία, the correct reading of COLL. 9, according to Hall (*Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, xi, p. 212). An examination of these examples reveals the fact that the dative in  $-\tilde{\alpha}$  is more usually found in those cases where it is accompanied by another dative of the full form in  $-\tilde{\alpha}$ . Cf. the similiar use of  $-\omega$  for  $-\omega$ ; see § 26, 3.

Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxxv., p. 13 f.) considers the forms in  $-\tilde{\alpha}$  as locative, when they are accompanied by a preposition of place. But the locative in Greek is not elsewhere used as such with prepositions, and there is no ground for recognizing it here.

6. The gen. plu. in  $-\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  (by contraction from  $-\tilde{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ; cf. Homeric  $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ,  $\alpha\lambda\phi\eta\sigma\tau\tilde{\alpha}\omega\nu$ ) occurs in  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\tilde{\alpha}\nu$  COLL. 59, 2.

7. On the acc. plu. see § 15.

## 26.

### Stems in $-\sigma$ .

1. The gen. sing. in  $-\omega$  (for  $-\sigma\sigma$  by contraction; see § 14, 13) is frequent, *e.g.*  $\alpha\lambda\phi\omega$  COLL. 60, 9, 18;  $\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$  60, 6, 13, 15, 17;  $\tau\iota\mu\omicron\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega$  23, 3.

2. A peculiar gen. sing. is found ending in  $-\omega\nu$  instead of  $-\omega$  and occurring interchangeably with the latter. The instances are: 'Αβιδμύλκων COLL. 59, 3;  $\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  60, 7, 25 (*cf.*  $\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega$  60, 6, 15, *et pass.*);  $\Delta\rho\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  60, 19;  $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$  38, 2; 'Ηδαλίων 59, 1;  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omega\nu$  42;  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$  42;  $\text{Κετίων}$  59, 1;  $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$  60, 4, 5, 15; 'Οναίων 21, 1 (shown to be genitive by the recently discovered 'Οναίος ἡμῖ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, iii.); 'Ονασικύπρων COLL. 60, 2, 11, 30; 'Ονασίλων 60, 24;  $\pi\epsilon(\mu)\phi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  59, 2;  $\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\tau\omega\nu$  60, 7;  $\acute{\upsilon}\chi\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\nu$  60, 5, 15;  $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\rho\omega\nu$  60, 1;  $\text{Νωμηνίων}$  *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 323.  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  in COLL. 60, 11 is not to be taken as gen. sing.

(as given by Deecke, *Index* to COLL. I., 1) but is rather the gen. plu. modifying the preceding παίδων. Cf. τὸς παῖδας τὸς Ὀνασίλων 60, 23.

The explanation of this genitive formation is exceedingly difficult. The view of Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxxv., 13) that an original formation in -ως has changed its -s to -v, for which Ahrens compares the Dor. ending -μες (e.g. ὀμωμόκαμες) by the side of the ordinary -μεν (λέγομεν) hardly needs refutation. The view first advanced by Deecke-Siegismund (Curtius' *Studien*, vii., p. 232) identifying this formation with that seen in the Arcadian genitive τωνί (COLL. 1222, 38), which they took as των-ί, is hardly correct, since Arcadian ταν[ν]ί in the same inscription line 53 points to a suffix -νι. The existence of this latter seems also to be confirmed by the Thessalian forms in -νε, τό-νε COLL. 345, 20, *et pass.*; τὰ-νε 345, 23, 45.

More plausible than Ahrens's view is that put forward by Deecke (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 71). Deecke thinks the ending -ων arose by confounding the gen. sing. in -ω with the gen. pl. The ν in the latter (see § 23, 2) had an extremely weak sound, according to Deecke, so that the form apparently terminated in -ω, at least when followed by an initial consonant. Hence after the analogy of ἄ(ν)θρώπω, i.e. -ω(ν) as a pendant to ἄ(ν)θρώπων in the gen. plu., we find also in the gen. sing. ἄ(ν)θρώπων as a pendant to ἄ(ν)θρώπω. Deecke refers to the early Latin accusatives, *sēd*, *mēd*, *tēd*, which are correctly regarded by him as having developed from original *sē*, *mē*, *tē* after the analogy of the duplicate ablative forms *sēd*, *sē*; *tēd*, *tē*; *mēd*, *mē*. Cf. Osthoff, *Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen*, p. 128; Stolz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, § 90.

Against this view of Deecke's it must be urged that except in the few words already mentioned above (§ 23, 2, 3) final ν does not exhibit a tendency to vanish in Cyprian. Even before consonants it is regularly written, e.g. παίδων 60, 11; κασιγνήτων 70, 14. Hence the assumption is not justified that final ν in the gen. plu. was characterized by the "äusserste Lautschwäche" which Deecke claims, and the con-

clusion drawn from this assumption, that there existed two forms in the gen. plu., one in  $-\omega$  and one in  $-\omega\nu$ , is therefore equally without foundation. In the absence of these duplicate forms of the gen. plu. it is difficult to see how this could have furnished the motive for the new formation.

Others, as Leskien (*Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1884, p. 105) and Brugmann (*Griechische Grammatik*, § 94) suggest an independent ending here,  $-m$  or  $-om$ , which appears in Eccl. Slavonic. This is improbable. It is not likely that the Cyprian  $-\sigma$ - stems had two inherited genitive formations in regular use. The one would have almost inevitably supplanted the other in the ordinary language. Latin *familiās* beside *stellae* is a rarity; *deābus* and *filiābus* have a special reason for existing; whereas these two genitives in  $-\omega$  and  $-\omega\nu$  exist side by side in the same words in the same inscription. It is therefore more reasonable to view the gen. sing. in  $-\omega\nu$  as a purely Cyprian development, the result of certain influences or associations which cannot as yet be determined.

3. The dat. sing. ends sometimes in  $-\omega\iota$ , sometimes in  $-\omega$ . On the relation of these two endings, see above, § 13, 3, c. An examination of the examples given there, reveals the fact that the ending  $-\omega$  is used only in those cases where it is accompanied by another dative of the full form in  $-\omega\iota$ , or by one ending in  $-\alpha\iota$  or  $-\iota$ . This fact tends to discredit Deecke's reading of Ἰ(ι)δη(ι) μισαύτω(ι) COLL. 126, 2 and τῶ(ι) ἀ(ν)-θρώπω(ι) *ibid.* 3. Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxxv., p. 13 f.) considers the forms in  $-\omega\iota$  as locatives wherever they are accompanied by a preposition, and writes them  $-\alpha\iota$ . Cf. his view of the corresponding ending  $-\alpha\iota$  in case of the  $-\alpha$ - stems; see above, § 25, 5.

4. On the acc. plu. in  $-\sigma$ , see above, § 15.

5. A' locative sing. in  $-\sigma\iota$  seems to occur in Παφοῖ COLL. 56, 1 and Ἡδαλιοῖ 62, 1; possibly also in Ἀμυκλοῖ 59, 2.



27.

Stems in -ι.

πτόλις forms the dat. sing. πτόλιι (*i.e.* πτόλι; see § 18, 1, c) COLL. 60, 2. This represents the primitive formation. So also the contracted Ὀσίρι COLL. 72; 45, 2. See § 14, 12.

28.

Nouns in -εύς.

Deecke writes the oblique cases of these as -έφος, -έφι, *etc.*, or with disappearance of *φ*, as -έος, -έι, *etc.* He evidently assumes -έφος to be the primitive formation. This makes a difficulty in explaining the long vowel in the penult of these words in other dialects, *e.g.* Bæotian Θεσπιεῖος (= Θεσπιῆος), COLL. 494, 16; Thessalian βασιλεῖος (ει = η) 345, 2, 11; Lesbian βασιλῆας 304, A, 13; Ionic Πλουτῆος CIG. 2665, b; Elean βασιλᾶες (for βασιλῆες; α for η as frequent in Elean) COLL. 1152, 3; Att. βασιλέως, βασιλέᾱ, βασιλέᾱς (for βασιλῆος, βασιλῆα, βασιλῆας, by quantitative metathesis; *cf.* Old Attic οἰκῆος, given in a law in Lysias 10, 19). Assuming -έφος, *etc.*, as the original formation, the long vowel in these forms can be explained only by compensative lengthening. But certain as a few instances of this phenomenon seem to be, *e.g.* αῶς for \*ἄφως (*cf.* Lesbian αῦως), yet the existence of a uniform law, by which a short vowel, standing before *φ*, is lengthened when *φ* disappears, cannot be established. Such words as νέος (for νέφος), πλόος, ῥόος, κλέος, γλυκέος, βούος, *etc.*, in fact, are so numerous as to seem rather to disprove it.

It is better, therefore, to assume that the original stem of these nouns ended in -ην-, not -ευ-. The nom. sing. then must have originally ended in -ηύς. This developed regularly to -εύς; *cf.* βούς for \*βωύς; νῆύς for \*νᾶύς (Ionic νηύς is of secondary origin after νῆες); λόγους for \*λόγωις (*cf.* Skrt. gatāis). See Spitzer, *Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 30; *cf.* Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 298.

The oblique cases were originally *-ῆφος*, *-ῆφι*, etc., and Deecke is therefore wrong in writing *βασιλέφος*, *Κετιέφες*. The Cyprian is the only dialect which has preserved the primitive formation intact. All other dialects have dropped *φ*. The instances of the formation are *βασιλῆφος* COLL. 39, 1; 46; 47; 59, 1; 60, 6, 8, 17; 153; 154; 176; 177; 178; 179; *Ἡδαλιῆφες* 60, 2; *ἱερῆφος* 1, 1; *Κετιῆφες* 60, 1.

As to the Cyprian forms which appear without the *φ* (see § 17, 1), they must be considered as retaining *η*, if the theory advanced below concerning the origin of *ἱερῆς* be correct; see § 29, 2. The instances are: *βασιλῆος* COLL. 17, 1; 38, 1; 40, 2; 154, 155 a, b; 156; 193; *ἱερῆος* 38, 3; *βασιλῆος* *Bess. Beitr.*, xi., p. 316.

## 29.

### *Other Peculiarities of Declension.*

1. Peculiar are the accusatives *ἰῃατῆραν* (= *ἰῃατῆρα*) COLL. 60, 3; *ἀ(ν)δριῖά(ν)ταν* 59, 2; *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323.

Brugmann (*Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, I., p. 198, and *Gr. Gr.*, § 77) suggests that possibly the *-αν* of these forms is to be regarded as the development of *-ηim*: i.e. the primitive ending *-m* developed before it the vocalic *η*, just as in Sanskrit *\*pád-m* became *\*pád-ṃm* whence *pád-am*. Cf. also Greek *πότνιαν* (whence the secondary nom. *πότνια* instead of *\*πότνῆς*; cf. Skrt. *pátuṇī*) from *\*πότνιῃm*. It seems much more natural, however, in view of the acc. sing. *μέ-ν*, *μί-ν* (for *μέ*, see § 31, 1) to regard the *ν* as borrowed from the accusative of the *-ā-* and *-o-* stems, as if to mark more closely the accusative character of the form. Cf. Thessalian *κίοναν* (from *κίών*) COLL. 1332, 40. The late forms *νύκτα-ν* and *ἄνδρα-ν* which Brugmann cites admit of no other explanation. An analogous phenomenon is seen in the verb where a primitive 3d plu. imperative *γραφάτω* first inserts a pluralizing *ν*, producing *γραφάντω*, and then adds yet another plural sign in *γραφάντων*. Cf. also Attic *μισθωσάντωσαν* CIA. ii., 600, 45.

φεικόνα COLL. 76, 2, follows the ordinary formation.

ἄτελήν COLL. 60, 10, does not belong here; see below, 8.

2. The nom. sing. ἰερείης COLL. 33, 1 is a collateral form of ἰερεὺς (*i.e.* ἰερεὺς), formed probably by appending the regular nom. ending -ς to ἰερῆ-, which appeared as the stem in those forms of ἰερεὺς which in course of time came to drop the *φ* (see § 17, 1), as, *e.g.*, ἰερῆ-ος, ἰερῆ-ι. This new formation occurs also in Arcadian (*e.g.* γραφῆς COLL. 1230, 7; ἰερῆς 1231, B, *et pass.*), where, however, it must have originated independently, if the above explanation of the Cyprian form is correct.

3. Proper names in -κλέφης (*e.g.* Νικοκλέφης COLL. 40, 1) formed the gen. sing. regularly in -κλέφeos (*i.e.* -κλέφε(σ)ος). This formation is seen in Τιμοκλέφeos COLL. 36; 64. By disappearance of the *φ* (see § 17, 1) and hyphæresis of the second *ε* (see § 14, 7) we get the forms in -έος, *viz.* Τιμοκλέος 35 and Θεοκλέος 126, 1. Νικοκλέφeos 179 cannot be the legitimate offspring of Νικοκλέφeos (*cf.* Τιμοκλέφeos), since *ε* before *ο* does not disappear. I therefore prefer to regard Νικοκλέφeos not as a form historically intermediate between Νικοκλέφeos and Νικοκλέφeos, but as historically subsequent to both, and a compromise between the two. *Cf.* German *doppelt*, which has resulted from the combination of *doppel* and *gedoppelt*. See Wheeler, *Analogy and the Scope of its Application in Language*, p. 8.

4. On the nom. of proper names in -κράτης and -κρέτης, gen. -κράτεος and -κρέτεος, see above, § 3, 1.

5. On Εὐφά(ν)θεφeos as possible gen. of Εὐφα(ν)θης, see § 17, 3.

6. χάρι and δάρι Meister's reading of COLL. 41 (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 52, col. 1644) for χάριτι and δόρατι are quite uncertain.

7. Γιλ(λ)ίκαφeos COLL. 29; Γιλ(λ)ίκαφι *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 41, ii.; Σαμᾶφeos *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 12, col. 380, are Phœnician names (see Deecke on the last form) from nominatives Γιλ(λ)ίκας (*cf.* Γιλ(λ)ίκα(ς) COLL. 120) and Σαμᾶς.

8. ἄτελήν (acc. sing. of ἄτελής) COLL. 60, 10, is formed

after the analogy of masculine *-ā-* stems (*-ās* : *-ān* : *-ης* : *-ην*). Cf. Lesbian *δαμοτέλην* COLL. 304, A, 44. Meister (*Griechische Dialekte*, I, p. 154 f.). See above, § 14, 6; 29, 1.

### 30.

#### *Adjectives.*

The form *νεφοστάτας* COLL. 59, 2, is taken by Ahrens (*Philologus*, xxxv.) as for *νεφοτάτας*, *i.e.* superlative of *νέφος* (Att. *νέος*). The ending *-στατος* in that case must be explained as borrowed from the superlative of *-εσ-* stems, *e.g.* *ἀσφαλέστατος*. This occurs also in other dialects, *e.g.* *αἰδοιέστατος* (superlative of *αἰδοῖος*) Pindar, *Ol.* iii. 76; *ἀφθονέστερος* Plato, *Rep.* 460, B, where the adaptation to the *-εσ-* stems is more complete than in case of *νεφόστατος*.

### 31.

#### *Pronouns.*

1. The acc. sing. *μέν* for *μέ* occurs in COLL. 71, the *ν* apparently being added on the same principle as in *ἰγατήραν* for *ἰγατήρα*; see § 29, 1.

2. Another form of the acc. sing. is *μί* COLL. 1, 2; 2, 2. This form, which is for *μίν* with omitted final nasal (see § 23, 2, 5), must have developed from *μέν*, just as *ιν* from *έν*; see above, § 7, 2. *μέ* also occurs COLL. 15, 2, and (elided) 126, 1. Voigt reads *μιν ἔθηκε* in COLL. 45, 3; but see § 9, 4.

3. *φοί* occurs as a simple pronoun of the 3d person without reflexive force (= *αὐτῶ*) in COLL. 60, 29; 59, 3.

4. Deecke claims *τό(ν)* as demonstrative in *τὸ(ν) δόμε(ν)* "Λδη 126, 2, but the whole passage is extremely uncertain.

The nom. pl. masc. of the article is *οί* after the analogy of the singular *ὁ*. The primitive nom. pl. *τοί* has disappeared as in Attic and elsewhere.

5. The article occurs as relative several times, *viz.* *τόν* COLL. 60, 21; *τάς* 71; possibly also *ὁ*, 60, 12, 25, unless this

be for *ὅς* with omitted final *-s*, according to § 20, 1. *τά*, which Deecke reads in 68, 4, is doubtful; *cf.* p. 2.

6. On *σὶς* for *τὶς* COLL. 60, 10, 23, see § 22, 2. On *ὄπισις* (= *ὄστις*), see § 21, 3; 22, 2.

7. Deecke claims *σὶ(ς)* in relative sense in COLL. 126, 1, comparing Thessalian *κὶς κε* in *τὰν ὀνάλαν, κίσκε γινύειται* (= *ἥτις ἂν γίγνηται*) COLL. 345, 22. But the reading of the Cyprian form is quite uncertain. *Cf.* § 20, 1 *ad fin.*

8. A demonstrative *τόνν* seems to occur in the bilingual in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1886, No. 42, col. 1323.

9. *φαντώ*, Meister's conjecture in his new reading of COLL. 42 (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1887, No. 52, col. 1644), is exceedingly improbable.

### 32.

#### CONJUGATION.

1. In COLL. 60, 1, Deecke writes *κατεφόρκων* from an assumed present *κατα-φορκώ*, 'besiege' (*cf.* *πολιορκέω* for *πολιορκέω*). Hence *κατεφόρκων* is the regular contracted 3d pl. imperfect ind. for *\*κατεφόρκοον*. Ahrens, however (*Philologus*, xxxv., p. 34), prefers to write *κατέφορkon*. This he refers to the same present, *καταφορκώ*, but thinks that this verb has followed in Cyprian the same tendency as the contract verbs in Arcadian (*cf.* Arcadian *ζαμιόντω*, imperative from *ζαμιόω* COLL. 1222, 17; *ζαμιόντες* 1222, 50), and has passed over into the *-μ* class. But the Arcadian does not follow this tendency invariably, *e.g.* *ζαμιώσθω* (contract), not *ζαμιό-σθω*, COLL. 1222, 28; so that Deecke's reading seems altogether safer.

2. *ῆς* is given by Sayce (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1884, No. 21), imperfect ind. 3d sing. from *ἡμί*. He gives only this form, apart from any context, and without reference to the certainty of the text. If correct it furnishes an interesting parallel to Arcadian *ῆς* (for *\*ἔ-εσ-τ*, the primitive formation) COLL. 1222, 37. *Cf.* Boeotian *παρεῖς* (*i.e.* *-ῆς*) COLL. 500, 8.

3. *ἐπισταῖς*, Deecke's reading in COLL. 68, 3, would, if correct, be for *ἐπισταίης*, aor. opt., with the mode-sign of the

plural, ι, instead of that of the singular. But frequent as is the opposite phenomenon, that of -ιη- instead of ι in the dual and plural (e.g. *σταίητον, σταίημεν*), yet instances of the reverse are not elsewhere found, and we should be slow to credit one in the present case, the more so since the sense which Deecke gives this word (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 78, "nicht möchtest du dich über die Gottheit stellen" (*μη . . . ἐπισταῖς . . . θεῶι*), does not belong to *ἐφίστημι*, which may have the sense of 'to be in command of,' but not that of 'to hold oneself superior to.'

4. *κατέθιγαν* COLL. 60, 27, is the plural of the unthematic aor. ind. of *κατατίθημι*. The root syllable appears as *θι* instead of *θε-* according to § 7, 1; on *j* see § 18, 1, a. The ending is -αν. The normal formation would have been \**κατέθεντ*, i.e. *κατέθεν*. Cf. Arcadian *ἀνέθεν* COLL. 1229; 1230. The ending -αν has been borrowed from consonant stems, where the primitive ending -ντ became -ητ and so developed regularly as -αν(τ), e.g. *ἔδωκαν*, for \**ἔδωκητ*; *ἔλυσαν* for \**ἔλυσῃτ* (see Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 530). Identical with Cyprian *κατέθιγαν* are Boeotian *ἀνέθε-αν* and *ἀνέθεκ-αν* COLL. 855; 571, 2.

5. *κατέθισαν* (Att. *κατέθεσαν*) COLL. 20, 2, ought regularly to appear as *κατέθεσαν*. The ι is to be explained as borrowed from the formation just mentioned, *κατέθιγαν*. The termination is of secondary origin, as in case of the Att. *κατέθεσαν*, being borrowed from the sigmatic aor., e.g. *ἔλυσαν*, where -σαν was felt as ending. Voigt's suspicion of this form (*Bezz. Beitr.*, ix., p. 165) I am unable to share.

6. On the aor. *ᾠρίσετυ* COLL. 126, 1 see § 3, 4.

7. On the ending η for η in the 3d sing. of the aor. subjunctive, see § 12, 3, b.

8. In COLL. 60, 26, note, Deecke takes *ἰναλαλισμένα* as perfect pass. participle from *ἰν-αλίζω* (i.e. *ἐν* and *άλιζω*, from *ἄλος*, Att. *ἦλος* 'nail') hence 'nailed up,' 'suspended by a nail.' But this assumption of the so-called Attic reduplication in a verb beginning with a long vowel is unwarranted. Deecke and Siegismund's earlier reading in Curtius' *Studien*, vii., p. 255, *ἰναλ(λ)αλισμένα* (*φέπιγᾱ*) "diese ausgetauschten



Worte" (from ἰν-αλ(λ)αλίζω) still seems preferable, notwithstanding αἴλων in 60, 14.

9. ἐρεράμενα is Deecke's reading in COLL. 68, 2. He explains it (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 79) as perfect participle of ἔραμαι, comparing ἀλάλημαι, ἀλᾱλύκτῃμαι for the reduplication. But the lengthening of ᾱ to εῖ is unaccountable, and the use of so strong a word as ἔραμαι in the sense of "liebes," as Deecke takes it, would be remarkable. Homeric ἦρα in ἦρα φέρειν, which Deecke compares, probably has no etymological connection with ἔραμαι.

10. An infinitive ending -févαι occurs in δοfévαι (from δίδωμι) COLL. 60, 5, 15. Cf. Skrt. *dā-vānc*. This ending is probably the original of that appearing in Attic δοῦναι (for \*δο(φ)έναι, θεῖναι (for \*θε(φ)έναι). δόμε(ν) read by Deecke in COLL. 126, 2, is uncertain; § 23, 4.

11. The ending of the present infinitive of -ω-verbs is uncertain. Whether we should transcribe this as -εν or -ην cannot be determined. It is perhaps safest to follow the closely related Arcadian (cf. Arcadian ἰμφαῖνεν COLL. 1222, 24; ὑπάρχεν 1222, 53) and write ἔχεν in Cyprian in COLL. 60, 10, 22, where Deecke gives ἔχην. If we read ἔχεν, it is best to assume an independent infinitive suffix -ν. *i.e.* ἔχ-ε-ν, as is done by Spitzer (*Laut. Ark. Dial.*, p. 56) and Brugmann (*Griechische Grammatik*, § 146, 5) in case of the Arcadian and Doric forms.

12. Whether κυμερήναι, Deecke's reading in COLL. 68, 4, may be a Cyprian infinitive, like the Homeric φορήναι, from an assumed \*κυμερέω for \*κυμεράω — *i.e.* κυβερνάω (cf. δαμάω beside δαμνάω) as taken by Deecke (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 80) seems altogether doubtful; see § 24, 8.

13. The imperative πῖθι is found in COLL. 135.

14. εἰ ποτε ἔφρεξα COLL. 71 is not properly a case of tmesis, as Deecke (*Bezz. Beitr.*, vi., p. 152) takes it, since a form εἰέφρεξα is an impossibility; but ἐξ ὀρύξη COLL. 60, 12 (twice), 24, 25, has in each of the four instances a divisor between the preposition and the verb.

15. The participles ἰό(ν)τα COLL. 60, 23, and ἐπιό(ν)τα 60,

9, 19, 22, *i.e.* ἐόντα ἐπεόντα (see § 7, 1 and *cf.* Ion. ἐών, ἐόντος) represent the thematic formation from the strong form of the root ἐσ-, in place of the primitive σῆτ-, which has everywhere disappeared. *Cf.* Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 601.

### 33.

#### *Prepositions.*

1. ἀπύ (*i.e.* ἀπό; see § 9, 2) occurs in Cyprian with the dative only, *viz.* ἀπὺ τῇ ζῇ COLL. 60, 8, 17; ἀφ' ὧι 59, 3.

2. ἐξ is used before consonants as well as before vowels (see § 24, 1), and like ἀπύ governs the dative only. The examples are ἐξ τῷ χώρῳ COLL. 60, 11; ἐξ τῇ πτόλι 60, 6; ἐξ τῷ φοίκῳ 60, 5; ἐξ τῇ ζῇ 60, 24; ἐξ τῷ καπῳ 60, 24. The form ἐκ does not occur.

3. πός. Reference has already been made above to the view of Baunack and Meister (see § 20, 3), according to which πός is a phonetic development from ποτί. The grounds for rejecting this view were also stated in the same connection. *Cf.* also Bechtel, *Bess. Beitr.*, x., p. 287.

πός and ποτί are really independent of each other, being different formations from the same theme, \*πότ. The former is for \*πότ-ς, where -ς is the same suffix as seen in ἐξ (*i.e.* ἐκ-ς), and ἀψ- (*i.e.* ἀπ-ς-), probably the weak form of the gen. suffix -ες, -ος as seen in δεσπότης for δεμ-σ-πότης, Lat. *fructū-s* (*cf.* J. Strachan, *Abstufung in Case-Endings*, *Bess. Beitr.*, xiv., p. 174). ποτ-ί, on the other hand, is a locative formation. With the relation existing between πός and ποτ-ί compare also that between πρός (*i.e.* \*πρότ-ς) and ποτ-ί; εἰς (*i.e.* \*ἐν-ς) and ἐν-ί.

4. ὕ occurs in COLL. 74, 3, in the sense of ἐπί; also in composition in ὑεξάμενος (see § 17, 2 *ad fin.*) 45, 2; and ὑχίρων (*i.e.* ἐπιχείρων; see Ahrens, *Philologus*, xxxv., p. 30 ff.) 60, 5, 15.

5. In COLL. 60, 10, 22, 28 we also find the peculiar form ὕφαις, which is plausibly explained by Baunack (*Inscript von*

Gortyn, p. 44) as follows. From the preposition  $\acute{\upsilon}$  already mentioned (see 4, above) was first formed  $\acute{\upsilon}$ -ai, the ai being the same suffix as seen in the Homeric  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi$ -aí and  $\pi\alpha\rho$ -aí (cf.  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\acute{o}\delta\alpha$   $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$  B 824;  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\pi\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$  o 280), etc. This  $\acute{\upsilon}$ ai appears in Cyprian as  $\acute{\upsilon}$ fai-s. The f is parasitic (see § 17, 2). The -s is the same suffix as that already mentioned in connection with  $\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$  and  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  (see above, 3). Cf. also  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$ -s beside  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$ -s beside  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$ ; Elean  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu$ -s beside  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu$  COLL. 1157.

The incorrectness of Ahrens' view, which connects  $\acute{\upsilon}$ fai-s with the Skrt. adverbs in -āis, has already been shown above, § 11, 2.

6.  $\acute{\iota}(\nu)$  (see § 23, 2, 4) governs the acc. as well as the dat., e.g.  $\acute{\iota}(\nu)$   $\tau\acute{\alpha}(\nu)$   $\theta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  COLL. 60, 27;  $\acute{\iota}(\nu)$   $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha\iota$  59, 4, and frequently.

### 34.

#### Conjunctions.

1. On  $\eta$  'if' see § 14, 6. This is probably from the same root as the Doric  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$  and Att.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ , though the relations of the three forms to each other are obscure. Baunack (*Inschrift von Gortyn*, p. 50) assumes a stem  $\sigma\tau\omicron$ - to which he refers  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  (for \* $\sigma\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ) as locative (cf.  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\iota$ ) and  $\eta$  (i.e. \* $\sigma\phi\eta$ ) as instrumental; also a stem  $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ - to which he refers  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$  (for \* $\sigma\phi\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ) as locative; cf.  $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}$ .

2.  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  'and' sometimes loses its final -s and appears as  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ , as already explained above; see § 20, 1. The relation of these forms to  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  of the other dialects is obscure. Baunack (*Inschrift von Gortyn*, p. 44) thinks that  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  was the original form, which before vowels became  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ , then  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ , and that this  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  was extended to  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ -s by the addition of -s, as in case of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$ -s for  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$ , etc. (see § 33, 5). But no traces of an antevocalic form  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  are elsewhere found, and the addition of -s, while frequent in adverbs and prepositions, is hardly to be assumed for a pure conjunction like  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ . The explanation of  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$  and  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$  is further complicated by the existence of the form  $\kappa\alpha\tau$ ' COLL. 59, 1. Deecke (Index to COLL. I., p. 77)

suggests that the elided vowel is *ι*, *i.e.* *κάτι*. Hall (*Proceedings Am. Or. Soc.*, x., p. clviii.) suggests *κά τε* (*i.e.* *καί τε*) in the sense of the usual *τε καί*; but this is impossible.

Assuming with Deecke that *κάτι* was the full form of this word we are not justified in assuming that this developed to *\*κάσι* and then to *κάς* (before vowels), since in that event we should not find *κάτι* and *κάς* side by side. Nor can we explain *καί* as developed from *κάτι* through the medium of *\*κάσι*, since the secondary *σ* of the latter form would not have disappeared, but would have remained.

3. *ιδέ* occurs COLL. 60, 12, 24, used like the apodotic *δέ* to introduce the conclusion of a conditional sentence. In 60, 26 it has the force of the simple *δέ*.

4. *ἔ* 'and' is found COLL. 60, 24.

5. *πᾶι* COLL. 60, 4; 60, 12; 71 is most naturally explained like the Attic *πῆ* as an instrumental which has assumed the *ι* secondarily. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*,<sup>2</sup> § 388.



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88.